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THREE WEEKS' NOTICE AND THE OLD ADDRESS AS WELL AS THE NEW ARE REQUIRED FOR CHANGE OF SUBSCRIBER'S ADDRESS.

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WE REGRET to note that neither the Administration's neutrality proposal nor the Nye-Clark-Maverick bill is as satisfactory as the draft bill of the National Peace Conference, which was discussed in last week's *Nation*. All three are alike in continuing the present mandatory embargo on arms, ammunition, and implements of war, and all provide for the banning of loans and credits to belligerents. Both the Nye and the McReynolds bill would limit the export of key war materials to a quota based on the normal exports during a specified pre-war period, although the McReynolds bill would leave such action to the discretion of the President. But neither makes any provision for lifting the various restrictions—except by further Congressional action—in case a country is attacked in violation of the Pact of Paris. In this respect they are markedly inferior to the National Peace Conference proposal, which permitted the President to raise the embargo on war materials, subject to the approval of Congress, provided the majority of signatories of the pact concurred in naming the aggressor. Conflicting reports have been received regarding the effect of the Administration's bill on the possibility of oil sanctions against Italy. Some well-informed European observers feel that any move by the United States to restrict Mussolini's oil purchases would shame the League into belated action, while others, equally reliable, have asserted that an oil embargo is impossible as long as the American government lacks the power to stop petroleum exports from this country. At the moment the latter view appears to be the more plausible, and is more than merely an excuse to escape a distasteful action. The restriction of exports to a pre-war average, while better than no limitation, would still leave the United States in the unenviable position of profiting from illegal aggression. And what is more unfortunate, it would definitely range the United States against those countries which are seeking to build an effective instrument for preserving peace.

NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICANS, when they are not quarreling over who shall be state chairman or who shall be speaker of the Assembly, are similarly divided over their future Presidential candidate. Thus the Young Republicans sent a delegation on December 26 to extend to Governor Landon an invitation to attend a rally in the spring. But Melvin C. Eaton, Republican state chairman, hastened to explain that this must not be interpreted as sponsorship of the Kansas Governor's candidacy. Mr. Eaton, it seems, is heart and soul for an uninstructed delegation to the national convention. At the same time, the left wing of the party, led by none other than W. Kingsland Macy, with the ardent assistance of that other left-winger, Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., is strongly urging the candidacy of Senator Borah. (In case anybody has forgotten exactly how left-wingish Mr. Fish is, it may be recalled that Mrs. Dilling, in her "Red Network," characterizes him as a "super-expert patriot," and credits him with assistance in the preparation of her monumental work.) In coming out for Senator Borah, in opposition to the Old Guard Republicans, Mr. Fish makes his position clear. "The policy of the Republican Party," he declares, "should be . . . to go forward on a sound and sane liberal platform of a square deal for labor, the farmer, the business man, the consumers, and for private property under the confines and compass of the Constitution." It is hard to see how this program could offend anybody except possibly the Seventh-Day Adventists, who were not mentioned. Probably if he were properly approached, President Roosevelt himself would vote for it.

WHILE THE REPUBLICANS were busying themselves with this regular pre-convention hocus-pocus, Governor Lehman, in his annual message to the New York Legislature, was offering a series of proposals which, if not startling, were at least sensible and humane. His most important points were the necessity of placing relief on a permanent, organized basis—subject, of course, to the formulation of a clearly defined federal relief program—and the need for such legislative action as would enable New York State to avail itself of the provisions of the federal social-security law. In addition the Governor urged ratification of the child-labor amendment to the Constitution, strengthening of the labor legislation passed in the last session, further-

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ance of the campaign to lower public-utility rates to consumers, an extension of the mortgage-moratorium law, and various other enlightened proposals. He rather hedged on the subject of milk, stating the need of "cooperative agreement" and "orderly marketing" within the industry without any specific recommendations; he was eloquent on the past performance of the mortgage commission without mentioning reduction of the home-owners' mortgage-interest burden. But in general he came pretty close to what Mr. Fish—if the Governor were a Republican and not a Democrat—would have been happy to describe as a "sound and sane liberal platform." The answer of the Republicans to the Governor's message was that he had stolen all their thunder. These, apparently, were just the proposals that they were about to make. If this is the case, it ought to make New York's legislative session the plainest of plain sailing.

THE LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE, according to an Associated Press report, after an investigation lasting a year has recommended strict legislative regulation of "fixed trusts"—the British term for investment trusts. The proposed law would require "certificates of recognition" for the trusts, and before these were granted "the fullest information regarding the composition and management of the trusts would be necessary." This serves to remind us that at the end of three years of the New Deal our own investment trusts are almost as free to rob the public as they were under the Republicans. At present the trusts, besides being subject to state regulation, are required only to file, as issuers of securities, registration statements with the Securities and Exchange Commission. These statements have disclosed that the big New York investment-banking and brokerage firms are represented in the management of the leading trusts and receive brokerage fees for transactions in securities made by the trusts. Moreover, partners of the investment-banking firms receive fees for acting as directors of the trusts. That such a set-up is possible indicates the ineffectiveness of state regulation. Revelations made before the Senate Banking Committee in 1933 add to the picture: worthless stock, especially directors' stock that could not be sold in the open market, was unloaded on the trusts by their managements; trusts were formed for ulterior purposes, such as obtaining control of companies in a special field; by the trusts' acquisition of concentrated holdings in particular industries the investor was deprived of that very safety through diversification which he sought when he put his money in a trust; trust managers granted brokers and pool operators—that is, in some cases, themselves—options on large blocks of stock.

STOCKHOLDERS and business men will look back on 1935 as an extremely good year for cornering the wary dollar. The value of all stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange rose from $34,000,000,000 at the close of 1934 to $46,000,000,000 at the end of 1935, a gain of 37 per cent. Favorable dividend changes during the year totaled 1,549 as compared with 1,447 in 1934, while unfavorable changes dropped from 377 to 245. Extra dividends were declared on more than 800 different stocks. Behind these evidences of increased profits lay an undeniable pick-up in business activity. The output of such divergent industries as steel and textiles was larger in November than in any corresponding month since 1929. The production of electric power and of shoes for 1935 was at an all-time high, as was the consumption of wool. Automobile and petroleum output was at a post-1929 peak. Car loadings and copper consumption were highest since 1931. Are we to assume from this that the extravagant predictions for 1936 are likely to be fulfilled? Conservative financial leaders profess to be somewhat dubious because of what they prefer to call "political uncertainties." The New Deal, it seems, is always threatening something dire to business. To this professional pessimism the facts and figures quoted above are a sufficient response. There has been a New Deal as far as business is concerned, and the stockholder has been the principal beneficiary. But in the process the fundamental causes of economic instability have been accentuated. Real wages of industrial workers were no higher at the close of 1935 than at the depth of the depression in 1932. Unemployment was 50 per cent greater than in 1931. Agricultural subsidies have all but destroyed our foreign markets for farm products and have thrust thousands of share-croppers into abject destitution. Relief and public works have broken down in many parts of the country as a means of maintaining the jobless in a state of reasonable efficiency. The present abnormal boom may continue for months, but it obviously cannot serve as a basis for permanent recovery.

THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS in Philadelphia has issued a restraining order prohibiting the Securities and Exchange Commission from making public the salaries of officers of the $200,000,000 American Can Company. The company, in its petition for the injunction, told the court that publication of the salaries would "excite criticism, breed envy, and lower the morale of the operating force." These are hardly cogent reasons, and our interest in seeing what the salaries are is heightened by the phrase immediately following that just quoted—"and perhaps foment serious labor trouble." The SEC was further enjoined by the court from making public gross sales and profits and losses, on the plea of the company that such publication would result in "widespread price-cutting." But let no one conclude that the fear of price-cutting arose from the self-interest of a corporation founded on the great American system of free competition. The price reductions, America Can argued, would mean the wiping out of many small companies. Such unselfishness ought not to go unrewarded!

TWENTY-FOUR PERSONS were lynched in 1935, according to figures—and case histories—released by the International Labor Defense. Tuskegee Institute in its annual report lists only twenty but fails to include the murder of at least four share-croppers in Tuskegee's own state of Alabama, perhaps because these killings deviated somewhat in procedure from the classic lynching formula. The class nature of lynching appears more clearly in the 1935 record—which tops 1934 by five—than ever before. The cry of rape has always hidden a class as well as a race motive. This year Tuskegee sets down activity in share-cropper organizing and "communistic activity" as the admitted causes of two lynchings; and the killings in Alabama (the figures are still incomplete because the Alabama swamps swallow up victims all too well) took place in the course of a struggle between landlords and croppers in which the landlords were all the more bitter because on the other side they saw, increasingly, white share-croppers standing with black against the common

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enemy. An even greater discrepancy is to be found in the two sets of figures available for deaths in connection with labor struggles. One set comes from the Labor and Socialist Press Service, the other from the I. L. D. The first gives thirty-three; the second forty-nine. The discrepancy is understandable since the facilities for gathering such statistics are necessarily limited and since the worker victims of labor battles are for the most part obscure both in life and in the manner of their dying. The figures stand like markers for the important struggles of the year: three of the victims were Southern textile workers, two were waterfront workers, two were lumber workers, seven were coal miners, and so on. And if they cannot be exact, they are nevertheless indicative of increasing tension and of a growing determination on both sides of the factory gate.

THE PICTURE of Governor Landon of Kansas that emerges from Raymond Gram Swing's two articles (the second of which appears in this issue) is strikingly unhackneyed. Here is no reactionary nonentity and no incipient fascist, but a sincere, mildish liberal who in some curious way has fallen among the Bourbons. Since Mr. Swing is writing as a reporter, his articles imply no political approval of Landon. We are glad to present the record as he found it, especially since it sharpens the issues of the coming struggle for the nomination. The Republican strategists are roaming about today like a nomadic tribe in desperate search of pasturage. Unless they are to become a permanent Opposition, they must find someone who is not too tarred with reaction to be put across on the voters. Some of them are therefore panting for Landon as Landon is undoubtedly panting for them. There is a good deal in Governor Landon's record as Mr. Swing gives it that is susceptible of a double interpretation. But of one thing we may be certain. If Governor Landon is really a liberal, it is his ill-fortune to have been adopted by some of the worst elements among Mr. Roosevelt's opponents. The process of being a candidate is, at the best, not an ennobling experience, even when it starts more auspiciously than as a companion-in-arms to Mr. Hearst. We call upon Governor Landon, if he is in earnest in his liberalism, to declare himself more explicitly on utilities, labor, relief, and civil liberties, and to shake off the corrupting hand of William Randolph Hearst.

A BATTLE IS PREPARING on the West Coast between the shipping interests and the waterfront workers which promises to exceed in violence and ruthlessness the general strike in 1934. The fireworks have already started in the Gulf ports, where a strike has been in progress for some time. The struggles in these ports—some of them have now been settled—may turn out to be the fuse leading to the major explosion in California, where the strength of the seamen's unions is greatest and where the rank and file has consistently refused to handle "hot" cargo (cargo previously handled by non-union labor) coming from the Gulf. The antagonists are the same as in 1934, but both sides are determined and prepared as never before. The employers stand ready to wipe out the unions. They are carrying on a campaign of provocation and red-baiting designed to discredit the rank and file and its leader Harry Bridges; and the "imminent shutdown" of the shipping industry predicted by its Washington representative, Elisha Hanson, may well be another drastic move to discredit the unions by proving that they are "ruining" the shipping trade. (This is the same Elisha Hanson who so boldly defended the freedom of the Hearst press against the Newspaper Guild.) According to the statements of the rank and file—and they have a ring of truth entirely missing from the laments of the owners—the Industrial Association has stopped and will stop at nothing in the way of plots, propaganda, and violence to break the unions' strength. So far the employers have not been able to interest the Department of Justice in a suit to break Bridges's hold on the West Coast locals—they would like to have him charged with violating the Sherman anti-trust laws! But they can count on the support of the conservative leaders of the A. F. of L. international marine unions. To perpetuate their own regime these officials are more than eager to smash the Maritime Federation, which was organized a year ago by Bridges and now commands the support of 35,000 workers in all marine crafts.

WE LEARN from an unimpeachable source that during the month of December two Italian regiments about to embark from a southern Italian port for East Africa mutinied and refused to go. They did not go. In view of the difficulty of obtaining authentic military information about Italy, it is quite conceivable that the action of these two regiments was not an isolated case. There may be more of which we do not know. This is not to suggest that Mussolini is about to blow up. But all the Duce's troubles are not concentrated in East Africa. While the searchlight has played on the diplomatic struggles in Paris, London, and Geneva, and on the Abyssinian battle front, it should not be forgotten that the future of Fascism must ultimately be settled at home.

AN APPEAL comes from the Anti-Nazi Federation for all possible protest to force the German government to make public the trial of Ernst Thälmann and other political prisoners now in concentration camps. The trial of Thälmann was scheduled to begin on November 15, but no information has been given out about whether or not it took place or where Thälmann is being held. According to the federation, an order issued to the German press by Minister of Propaganda Goebbels is illuminating in this connection. It seems that the Nazi government was in the habit of giving out detailed information regarding political trials, but unfortunately this information was misinterpreted.

> Reports about the insolent and provoking behavior of some accused produced a different effect on the broad masses of working people than we had originally in view. It has been noticed that in several factories these reports caused considerable excitement and numerous discussions. Reports written in order to arouse public opinion against the criminals awoke feelings in favor of them.
>
> Therefore I order that henceforth reports about political trials shall be suppressed. Only the sentences may be published in less than two phrases, but only on special command.

We suggest that the Nazis adopt the device long honored by our own Congressmen in printing their remarks in the *Congressional Record*. Liberal sprinklings of (Applause), (Laughter), or better still (Hisses) would teach the misguided factory workers what to think.

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Mr. Roosevelt's Magic

MR. ROOSEVELT'S amazing radio message to Congress has undoubtedly strengthened his campaign fortunes, but leaves his program as unclear as ever. Politically adroit, and from the standpoint of radio oratory a magnificent achievement, it was intellectually a confused and straddling performance. Unlike most "historic" events with such an enormous publicity build-up, the thing somehow managed to come off—judging not so much by the applause of Congress and the galleries, which formed the studio audience, as by the talk of the plain men and women in their homes and on the street. The common man wanted to be let in on a dramatic occasion, and he had his wish. He wanted a fighting speech, and he got it. He was tuning in on history-in-the-making, and the President took pains to make it a good show. Even the *Herald Tribune* has had to admit grudgingly that this puts Mr. Roosevelt in a dominating position for the campaign. The President has again used some sort of magic to increase his stature, and by comparison every Presidential possibility on the Republican side seems puny and frustrate. They can talk only of outraged "taste"—these men whose stomachs have not been turned by their association with Hearst and all the revolting exploitation of a company universe.

But a sober rereading of the speech shows how consummately Mr. Roosevelt displayed his talent for leaving almost all the important things unsaid. Not that the speech lacked importance for what it did say. It was Mr. Roosevelt's first significant and sustained official utterance on the international situation since his ill-starred incursion into the London conference in the mad July days of 1933. It carried on two Wilsonian traditions: that of seeking to distinguish between European rulers and the desires of the people themselves, and that of reading a vigorous lecture on democracy and autocracy. It was, however, Wilson with a difference. Since Wilson's time the national and international scenes have more clearly emerged. It was possible for Mr. Roosevelt to draw a clear relationship between the fascist imperialism of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese militarists and the fascism of the American plutocrats. We may of course be overestimating the clarity with which Mr. Roosevelt sees this relation. Quite conceivably his main purpose was to capitalize on the widespread anti-war and anti-fascist sentiment in the country, and to bolster his failing prestige in domestic affairs by vigorous leadership in foreign affairs.

But generously interpreted, the President's international stand is more than a clever political device. Despite its overemphasis on the personal and ideological factors and its too easy assumption that Europe needs nothing more than an inner conversion on the part of Hitler and Mussolini, it does face the overwhelming reality of today. It is a recognition of the relation between fascism abroad and at home, between fascism and war, between fascism and the economic plutocracy. If the President had meant only to repeat the well-worn distinction between democracy and dictatorship, he would not so studiously have avoided mention of Soviet Russia. That he did so avoid it is a tribute to his good sense, and proof of his intent to single out the fascist dictators as the imperialist war-makers.

In the domestic field Mr. Roosevelt's message was better as a manifesto than as a preface to legislative action. It was here that the speech became, as Paul Ward describes it elsewhere in this issue, a political rally, with the business of state being transacted under the klieg lights. It was here that the President showed himself complete master of the grammar of vituperation. Never has an American President so clearly attacked the finance-capitalists, the holding-company wizards, the corporation lawyers, and the whole resplendent array of big-business statesmanship. His attack, coming at a period of capitalistic crisis, is the most significant Presidential utterance we have had on the concentration of financial power in a capitalist state. There have been left-wing attacks on big business in abundance. But when an American President who is politically astute, realistic, sensitive to opinion, directs his Presidential message to such a sustained and considered attack, that becomes news—and history. It becomes an official recognition of the strains within our economic system, and of a basic inner cleavage of interest between those who would freeze the structure as it stands, even at the cost of destroying our culture, and those who still hope to take advantage of whatever flexibilities the system offers.

But Mr. Roosevelt must go farther. If he has not entirely shot his bolt, if he is not more adept at showmanship than at statesmanship, he must affix to the speech a real legislative program. This he reveals little intention of doing. The Supreme Court's invalidation of the AAA will force him and Congress into some sort of action on the agricultural issue. But his essential temper will still be that of a cautious administrator seeking to conserve and consolidate the gains he has already achieved, rather than of an aggressive leader pushing ahead with a program well begun.

The President's speech may be called his "standstill agreement." He has gone as far as the economic necessities of capitalist crisis coerced him into going, and as far as the outer limits of his patrician training and character have permitted him to go. By his references to taxation, the budget, and relief, by his very pointed emphasis upon the New Deal as a finished achievement rather than a fragmentary and incomplete program, he is serving notice that he will go no farther. His right foot is not to be budged a step backward, and his left foot is planted with equal firmness against any forward movement. History may find him frozen in his tracks. That is the meaning of his agile bows to both disarmament and a big navy, to a moratorium on taxes and an attack on big business, to a reduced relief budget and unctuously rhetorical questions on our duty to the unemployed. No man has ever shown greater dexterity in facing both ways than Mr. Roosevelt. Whether such a talent will be adequate either in saving the country or winning a campaign remains to be seen. Mr. Roosevelt got the jump on the Republicans; the Supreme Court has now got the jump on Mr. Roosevelt.

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The Supreme Court Swings the Ax

THE nation's Lord High Executioners have again swung the ax. This time it is the Agricultural Adjustment Administration that has succumbed to the Supreme Court's kiss of death. Mr. Justice Roberts, speaking for the court in the Hoosac case, in an almost incredibly mechanical and legalistic opinion has ruled that the Administration's largely successful efforts to raise farm income are unconstitutional and must be undone. Five other justices join in this stern Catonian view of judicial duty. Three justices dissent. The Hoosac case now takes its place in the sequence of retreat to an archaic conception of a national government with cruelly limited powers in a time of crisis.

It is true that the decision might have been a good deal worse. The taxing power, the spending power, the delegation of powers, the Tenth Amendment were all urged upon the court as issues on the basis of which the AAA could be held invalid. Ostensibly Mr. Justice Roberts has rested his decision only on the last of these—the ground that Congress was trenching on the powers reserved to the states by the amendment. He argues that Congress is nowhere explicitly given power to regulate agriculture; that its attempt to do so in the Agricultural Adjustment Act is therefore unconstitutional; that any tax it may impose and any appropriation it may make as part of such a general regulatory scheme thereby become unconstitutional, regardless of what their validity might be outside such a scheme.

But such a summary does not convey the full import of the decision. After the crippling of the Congressional power over commerce through the Schechter decision, those who have wished to see the national power used for economic control have pinned all their hopes on the taxing and spending power of Congress under the "general-welfare" clause of the Constitution. The court did not dare through a frontal attack destroy this Congressional power. To do so would have been to run directly athwart the established law and usage of a century and would have constituted the most fatal decision since the Dred Scott case. Instead, the court has managed by indirection to cripple if not kill the Congressional taxing power. No use of the taxing power can henceforth be held constitutional under the general-welfare clause if it attempts Congressional regulation of agriculture or industry. And since that is the principal use to which it is now important to put the taxing power, the extent of the decision can readily be seen.

Intelligent people will fail to find any rational meaning in such an outcome. The common man, with his direct way of looking at governmental matters, will be unable to make any sense of it at all. The farmer will be dazed. The worker will know that a similar fate is in store for him. Three of the Supreme Court justices—and those not by any means the least able or enlightened—find that it not only makes no economic or governmental sense, but that it does not even make good constitutional law. In what is undoubtedly one of the most brilliant of recent dissenting opinions, Mr. Justice Stone subjects the majority reasoning to a merciless analysis in which its sophistry and confusion are completely exposed. The reader sees, if he is willing to look beyond rhetoric to reality, the naked class interest that ultimately dictated the decision. It is not so much that the court has grudged the farmers their benefits. It has been unwilling to see the method of taxation, with its attendant regulation, extended to industry and to labor relations. Mr. Justice Stone points out cogently that a power of appropriation that cannot set the conditions under which and the purposes for which the money will be spent is completely useless. With an admirable frankness he challenges the smug assumption of judicial power and judicial infallibility. He riddles Mr. Justice Roberts's protestations that the court is only interpreting the clear letter of the Constitution and is officially not cognizant of the effects of its decisions in nullifying the legislative will. He refers to "the mind accustomed to believe that it is the duty of the courts to sit in judgment on the wisdom of legislative action." "Courts," he continues, "are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern."

Even while he was delivering his message to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt was speaking in the shadow of the court's power. Now the court proves definitely that it is the last bulwark of the vested interests. They have been displaced from the Legislative and have been outwitted by the Executive; they find their last refuge in the Judiciary. It is inconceivable that the good sense of a democracy will tolerate very much longer such a use of the judicial power. If Mr. Roosevelt has courage he will make the limitation of this power in declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional a major part of his campaign. If he has a long view of statesmanship he will make it part of a long-range effort to restore the basic decisions of a democracy to the legislative will of the people.

McDonald Speaks Out

WHEN James G. McDonald resigned as High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany he resigned with a bang. And the reverberations of the bang are still sounding in every corner of the world with results that have only begun to be felt. Mr. McDonald's departure from his post may well prove to be the most effective act of his two years' service, more effective perhaps than the whole period of heart-breaking labor. The labor was indefatigable and as successful as circumstances permitted it to be; it brought aid to some 65,000 harried, destitute refugees from Hitler's Reich. The resignation and the impressive statement which accompanied and explained it dramatized to the world outside of Germany the full measure of injustice and wholesale terror that has been visited not only upon the half-million Jews but upon all the groups set apart by Hitler's government as racially or politically alien.

In very brief, Mr. McDonald said to the League and to the world: What use to attempt to find homes and work for a flood of refugees from Hitler's terror in lands which can barely support their own populations and must prove inhospitable hosts to destitute invaders? New laws in Germany reinforce and legalize the ruthless practices of earlier days. Life becomes impossible for an increasing number of persons

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helpless to alter their state. Therefore the flood will grow, not lessen. The task of alleviation becomes more desperate. The only hope lies in action by the League and by the civilized nations of the world to recall the German government to its senses and to its obligations to the political and racial minorities in its own territory. Such were his conclusions. They were buttressed by a series of factual surveys covering legal, political, economic, social, educational, and religious restrictions, especially those bearing on Jews and "non-Aryans" of other faiths. These surveys are a work of selection and compilation remarkable for its objectivity and sobriety—and the more explosive because of these qualities.

The time was ripe for an explosion. From the start the commission headed by Mr. McDonald was, for all its impressive sound, an international foundling. It was forced to plead its humane cause to wary or hostile governments and organizations without even the official backing of the body that brought it into being. Like many foundlings the High Commission was shunted about, politely snubbed or put off with merely formal sympathy. That so many countries accepted as many exiles as they did is commendable in the circumstances. But Mr. McDonald's thankless task was to induce already impoverished countries to take in a horde of even more impoverished alien Jews—refugees whose numbers and poverty grew greater with every month of growing terror in Germany. His mission was an honorable failure.

The victims of Nazi terror are not to be rescued like victims of flood or earthquake—by money and food and a temporary home until the waters recede or the earth settles. These things they need if they are to live. But piecemeal salvage cannot touch the fundamental factors in their fate. The refugees from Germany are merely fragmentary evidence of the continuing catastrophe of Nazi rule. The problem is primarily one not of relief but of government. Recognizing this, Mr. McDonald dropped his role of social worker and took up the task of political analysis. He exposed the realities that lie behind the objects of woe he was appointed to help. And he called upon the other governments and the League to become equally realistic; officially to face the fact of official German terror and take collective action to end it.

An admirable gesture. But we should be less than realistic ourselves if we believed that it would result in prompt or effective response on either side. The nations are likely to evade this issue as long as they can. The League has proved its unwillingness to assume full responsibility even for the mission of relief undertaken by Mr. McDonald. As for the German government, it prudently suppressed Mr. McDonald's statement and all but the bare mention of his resignation, and in a brief contemptuous reply advised the League to look after the treatment accorded minorities in the states which are members of the League before concerning itself with Germany's methods of "domestic reconstruction."

The value of Mr. McDonald's dramatic resignation lies not in its probable immediate results but in the challenge it presents to the conscience of the world. It thrusts under the noses of the nations detailed facts they might prefer to overlook. It gives official standing to authenticated charges of ruthlessness. It cannot be denied or ignored. It will stand with the Lytton report on the Japanese invasion of Manchuria as an unforgettable indictment of a nation which has abandoned even the pretense of civilized usages.

Wonders Multiply

IT is fitting that while the festival of the new year is being celebrated, our modern magicians, in the persons of our scientists, natural and otherwise, should get together and report on the progress of the past twelvemonth. In New York, St. Louis, Baltimore, Princeton, and other cities they gathered. They made speeches and read papers, and the facts or deductions they set forth were described in the press. It may be that the news stories laid undue emphasis on the sensational as opposed to the strictly scientific, but to untutored laymen like ourselves the reports were sufficiently marvelous to deserve repeating.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting at St. Louis, was told of a new "sun-trap" which seems to harness the energy of the sun so effectively that only the comparatively high cost of manufacturing it stands between us and its practical use. The same group heard Dr. Edward L. Thorndike of Columbia University present "a psychological analysis of what might be termed the American soul," through a critical study of where the American income goes. The American Chemical Society, meeting at Rochester, heard Dr. Marston T. Bogert of Columbia University read a paper on "Carotenoids" which promised that a diet plentiful in carrots and tomatoes would help one to see in the dark. The Zoological Society of America listened to a report on the results of transferring the hearts of ten embryo newts into the bodies of ten adult newts. The newts with the two hearts, it was announced, lived and functioned normally for from 100 to 165 days and then died "because they were freaks and not as healthy as their ordinary fellows." Before the same meeting Dr. Edgar Allen of Yale described a device for recording the moment of ovulation in rabbits. This last may in time be susceptible of application to human beings, making the rhythmic method of birth control less hazardous than it now seems to be. That the Dionne quintuplets may very well be the grandchildren or great-grandchildren of their parents, was the conclusion of Dr. David Clausey, of the University of Arkansas. This is the result of the multiple division of the ovum, which creates a new generation each time it divides, the father and mother having been the parents only of the first ovum fertilized.

A new electron tube which for the first time includes the infra-red and the ultra-violet rays in man's range of vision; an artificial musk which displaces the rare and costly animal which supplies musk for perfumes; a new theory of philosophy which outlaws metaphysics and classes Plato as a poet but not a philosopher; a new method of combining science and religion so that the facts of man's biological origin may be taught at the same time and not to conflict with "facts concerning man's origin and destiny as revealed by religion"—these are but a few of the other wonders which our scientists and academicians are toying with. The whole list is as long as it is incomprehensible; the news stories are—with all respect to the reporters—probably garbled. But one gathers from reading them that the wonders of the ancient world are as nothing to the wonders of this. More power to the magicians. The politicians evidently cannot save us. Perhaps the scientists can.

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Issues and Men

How to Expose William Randolph Hearst

IF Dr. Edward Alsworth Ross of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin had made his speech before the fifth annual convention of the Pi Gamma Mu Society a few weeks before he actually delivered it on December 28, I should very strongly have urged him for a place on *The Nation's* Honor Roll for 1935. For he made a most admirable and practical suggestion of how to expose William Randolph Hearst and to stop his campaign against the supposed radicalism of our schools and colleges. He urged the formation of a committee to collect data regarding Hearst, "our chief and most pertinacious and malevolent assailant, as a man and a citizen, a property-owner and a taxpayer, newspaper owner and editor through forty years. It should show the deliberate deceits of which Hearst and his minions have been guilty." He then continued as follows:

> There is not a community in the land infested by a Hearst newspaper that would not turn out in numbers for the high-school or college teacher who should announce a lecture entitled "The Truth About W. R. Hearst and the Hearst Newspapers." It would be desirable that slides be presented showing the vulgarity and viciousness of many of the cartoons which have appeared in the Hearst press through the years. Loan collections of such slides might be made available to teachers giving the lecture. . . . In this case, as often in warfare, the best defensive is an offensive.

There can be no doubt that any such organized movement would badly scare the Hearst organization; however Hearst himself may feel about the movement against him, there can be no question that the men upon whom he relies for his profits are in a very jumpy state of mind. Proof of this is a happening at Williams College last spring. The students of Williams struck against the Hearst news movies and propaganda pieces at the local theater. The royalty paid by that little concern was so small as to be trifling, but not less than four representatives of the Hearst organization turned up in alarm, one after the other, to see what had happened, and one of them went so far as to ask in obvious anxiety whether the boycott was going to be extended to the Hearst newspapers. Last summer there was formed in California a society to boycott the Hearst newspapers; the members attached stickers to all mail matter they sent out and in other ways endeavored to spread the gospel of an anti-Hearst boycott. The year 1935 also saw that magnificent denunciation of Hearst by Dr. Charles A. Beard, which Hearst will never live down and which no future biographer of the world's worst newspaper owner can possibly overlook. But such a committee as Dr. Ross suggests would really alarm the Hearst forces, for Dr. Ross does not overstate the appeal that such a movement would make.

Moreover, the campaign would be an easy one to stage since one could make the lectures extremely interesting and very deadly merely by quoting from the Hearst newspapers. Thus it would be impossible for the Hearstites to claim that it was a biased undertaking instigated by prejudice and full of inaccuracies. Certainly Hearst could not complain if it revealed his part in bringing on the war with Spain and some of the falsities of his pro-Cuba campaign from 1896 on. His relationship to the assassination of McKinley and a good many other incidents could easily be set forth by facsimile reproductions of editorials and articles. Extremely valuable would be a presentation of how and why he at one time urged war with Mexico, and then turned round a few years later and took precisely the opposite tack. Equally stimulating to thought would be a recapitulation of Hearst's changes of front on every other conceivable subject since he entered journalism as a champion of the plain people against the money-bags and the Republican bosses, who, as he then correctly pointed out innumerable times, dominated the political life of the United States. But, after all, the most damning thing would be the portrayal of the low quality of his entire newspaper product, and of the injury that it has done to American press standards, to say nothing of public taste. In this connection a reprint of a speech of the late Congressman Johnson of California, the father of the present Senator from that state, would astound people.

It would not be necessary to say anything about Hearst's private life. That would be a mistake, and Professor Ross evidently realizes it, as he made no reference to it. That, after all, is Hearst's own affair. What is essential is that his attitude toward our American institutions be clearly and unmistakably set forth, so that the public may get a complete understanding of just how baleful his influence has been. Men like Hearst thrive because of the forgetfulness of the American public. It is amazing, for instance, to hear Wall Street men now praising Hearst when they themselves, or their fathers, in 1898 and again at the outbreak of the World War were violently denouncing Hearst and having his newspapers thrown out of clubs and libraries. Hearst is entitled to free speech as much as anybody, but on the other hand true patriots are entitled to state just what they think of the man, and how they rate his contributions to American political, social, and economic life. At least the bankers and brokers who are now so eager to praise their new champion ought to be reminded of some of the things he used to say about the business men of the country, those whom his cartoonists, Opper and Davenport, used to portray in prison stripes or with the dollar mark all over their clothes. There are few menaces as great in our American life as Hearst, especially since he has openly come out on the fascist side. In self-defense the forces of democracy have not only the right but the duty to strike back. A few mass-meetings of protest with speakers like George S. Counts, Professor Ross, and other brave men in public life would speedily put a different aspect upon matters in the Hearst offices.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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"The Republican National Committee welcomes contributions from the business man as heartily as from the tiller of the soil or the worker in the mill."—CHAIRMAN FLETCHER

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Klieg Lights and Crisis

By PAUL W. WARD

Washington, January 6

LIBERALS and radicals who for a year or more have been damning the Supreme Court and all it stands for may find cause within the next few weeks or months to give thanks that the tribunal exists. It seems certain at this date that if the session of Congress that began Friday is to contribute anything at all in furtherance of the public welfare, the Supreme Court will have to be accredited as the action's instigator. It seems certain that it will take a series of jarring decisions against the New Deal to knock a working majority of the federal legislators out of their preoccupation with the task of saving their individual skins at the polls next November and into a realization that the New Deal, contrary to the most recent philippic of their White House messiah, is not perfect; that it has, in fact, not yet begun.

What makes this all seem so certain is the spirit in which the session has opened. Because his last "state-of-the-nation" message had got a bad publicity break through having to compete with the opening of the Hauptmann trial, and because some of his recent public addresses had had to be delivered at hours when they could not monopolize public attention, the President of the United States insisted on delivering his message to this session in person and at night. In consequence, the actual opening of the second session of the Seventy-fourth Congress was a rudimentary affair. The Senate remained in session only twenty minutes. The House, meeting in characteristic bedlam, dallied little longer. Its brief proceedings were given over chiefly to two things. The first of these was a bawdy scramble among its 435 members for unanimous consent to insert in the *Congressional Record* various articles, letters, and speeches which could then be converted into campaign pamphlets for free and dazzling circulation among their constituents. Interwoven with this was a running fight between the Republican and Democratic leaders over the arrangements for the joint session that night.

No less tawdry was the show in the House that night. The pack of Senators and Representatives jammed together in the well looked like a mixed convention of Elks and Shriners with a few Daughters of the American Revolution thrown in for good measure. The affairs of state sat lightly on these well-fed lawyers, bankers, merchants, farmers, backwoods preachers, ex-hoofers, ex-teachers, ex-cowhands, and professional office-holders who make the nation's laws. On some they rested not at all, for here and there were men in whom an excess of alcoholic content could be detected at fifty paces even without the aid of the klieg lights glaring overhead.

It was a festive gathering that owed what somberness it held to the pompous solemnity of the Cabinet members who had joined it and the doddering senility of more than a dozen of its own members. No tension gripped it such as must have gripped that last joint session of its kind in April, 1917, when President Wilson asked the Congress to declare war on Germany, and a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, in hysterical tears, led the applause. This time the Supreme Court, as well as a sense of crisis, was lacking. The court had not been invited to join the House and Senate in overhearing what the President of the United States had to say to the radio audience.

The lights quivered with the applause and cheers that shook the chamber as Roosevelt walked to the rostrum, cocked back his massive head, and beamed his famous beam upon the audience. To at least the applause the Republicans politely, even heartily, contributed. Then came silence as the President swung into his address, after drinking half a glass of water, placing his wrist watch beside his manuscript, and arranging his pince-nez. The first half of the speech, dealing with international affairs, he delivered in a low voice and with a minimum of histrionics. In it he neatly contrived to be both neutral and unneutral, to be for disarmament and for a big navy, and—even more neatly—to place himself on the side of the Nye-Clark neutrality faction in the Congress, as though he had been there from the beginning of time instead of only a month at best.

Having finished with world affairs and a profitable, if disguised, capitalization of anti-Nazi and anti-Mussolini sentiment in this country, the President of the United States put on a quick-change act. He doffed the robes of a statesman and became in a trice pure politico. His voice lifted, his pace quickened, and his head began to bob and jerk, as he went on to convert what was supposed to be a thoughtful discussion of the nation's ills and ways of treating them into a political diatribe. It was received as such by his partisans, the Democrats in well and gallery whooping, hollering, and stamping their feet as Roosevelt hurled barb after barb at the helpless Republicans present and thundered defiance at unnamed and unseen forces of darkness. Soon he had whipped his followers into that senseless ecstasy that overtakes political conventions when a leading contender has just been placed in nomination, and for such unprecedented behavior the Republicans at last retaliated in a fashion that promptly wiped the grin from Roosevelt's face and made it grim. They broke into raucous laughter at his expense when he referred to his address as "this message on the state of the union."

Passions were served, and not until the next morning did it begin to dawn on many of those who had so hoarsely cheered the President that he had said nothing about the 11,000,000 still unemployed while prices, profits, and production mount to "prosperity" levels, or about the thousands his Administration has had struck from the relief rolls and returned to the miseries of the soup kitchen and the parish poor basket, or about the sogginess of the banking structure and the fatuousness of his stock-market program, to mention only a few of he pressing issues before the country. Nor did it occur to them until then that each of his crescendo shouts against "intrenched greed" had been matched by diminuendo pleas to the interests he reviled, pleas couched in pledges to hold taxes at their present level and shape, to balance the budget, and to reduce expenditures

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for relief while increasing the federal dole to battleship and munitions makers.

For those of his camp followers inclined to worry over such matters the President's budget message that came today offered no balm. In it he managed to add another to the series of Rooseveltian innovations by presenting a budget that was not a budget, for it expressly omitted the biggest item of all—work relief. And in it he also managed to give the electorate concrete and unquestionable proof that his Administration goes into 1936, as it went into 1935, barren of any adequate plan for dealing with its chief problem. The President tells Congress that not until at least another two months have passed—and the works program for which it gave him carte blanche last April is at last in full operation—will he be able to suggest how much should be appropriated for relief. And he adds: "It is reasonably certain that the total appropriations for work relief during the fiscal year 1937 will be far less than during the current fiscal year."

The budget he offers, such as it is, forecasts a deficit of $1,098,000,000, exclusive of whatever outlay may be needed for relief. Proudly he contrasts it with his estimated deficit of $3,234,000,000 for the current fiscal year. It would bring his accumulated deficit up to nearly $12,000,000,000 as of July 1, 1937. The figure probably will go much higher not only because of relief outlays but also because of the $2,000,000,000 soldiers' bonus bill. Add to that the cost of substitutes for the AAA, killed by the Supreme Court, and the need appears of saddling on the budget new and gargantuan appropriations for farm doles in addition to approximately half a billion dollars' worth of benefit-payment obligations to farmers, already incurred under the AAA.

No appropriation is included for the FERA, which now is in liquidation, or for the FSRC, whose fate had been uncertain. Nor is there any room in this $6,500,000,000 budget for any new loans or grants to states and municipalities for public works. Loans of this kind must in future come out of Ickes's revolving fund—accumulated repayments on old loans. For what the President calls a permanent works program the sum of $400,000,000 is asked, all of it to be spent on such federal projects as the Upper Mississippi development and Passamaquoddy.

On the other hand, though Roosevelt himself declares there is no threat of war in the Americas and this nation is bent upon a resolute peace policy, he asks for "national defense" a total of $937,791,966, which is 26 per cent more than the 1936 appropriation and 75 per cent more than the 1935 appropriation. The navy is to get $567,872,400 as against $425,350,500 in the last budget; the army is to get $369,919,566 as against $319,489,088. Furthermore, the President explains that the appropriation proposed will not lift the army to its authorized enlisted strength of 165,000 but only to 147,000, and that as he plans to increase the outlay gradually, full strength will not be attained until 1939.

It is unlikely that he will have any material difficulty in pushing such a budget through Congress, for the only serious opposition must come from the hopelessly outnumbered Republicans, whose leaders will be busy publicly trying to cut the proposed appropriations while privately striving to pad the budget and throw it farther out of line. As for the Democrats, with their eyes on November they will be even more cooperative than they have been in the past, and that goes for the Carter Glasses, the Byrds, the Baileys, and all the others who have been sharply critical of the Administration at private sessions.

Of the bills likely to pass, only the bonus bill would seem to be anti-Administration, but Roosevelt's legislative lieutenants, including Senator Harrison of Mississippi, are on record as predicting that even it can be so drafted as to receive Roosevelt's signature, and there is none who now predicts that it will not be passed. In the Vinson-McCormack version it was one of only three major pieces of legislation introduced on the opening day. The second was the Administration's neutrality bill. The third, which may prove the most important of them all, was slipped in unobtrusively. A bill forbidding the courts to pass on the constitutionality of Congressional enactments, it was introduced by Representative Oliver H. Cross, a sixty-five-year-old Democrat and retired lawyer from Waco, Texas, who left his farm in 1929 to sit in the House. Of the three major measures mentioned, it is the only one whose chances of passage are slim. It lacked Administration support when Mr. Cross introduced it at the last session, and apparently it still lacks that support. Senator Ashurst of Arizona, who as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee handles such matters for the Administration in the upper house, expects no legislation in that vein, despite a passage in the President's message that seemed to invite such an enactment.

It is probable that one effect of the message will be to stir up a stiffer fight over the neutrality bill than the White House is prepared for. There never has been any doubt that a permanent measure would be enacted at this session; it would have been enacted at the last session had not White House and State Department opposition forced a compromise on a temporary measure. What has been in question is how far the permanent measure would go in denying discretionary authority to the President. The sentiment against executive discretion is still strong in both houses, and today there was introduced in opposition to the Administration's neutrality bill what will be called the Nye-Clark-Maverick bill. It parallels the Administration measure at several points but goes farther in making mandatory provisions for neutrality. The fight over the neutrality bill probably will be delayed until the bonus measure has been wangled to a vote.

There seems no likelihood at this time that the social-security bill will undergo any liberalizing amendments. The Wagner housing bill seems headed for the discard along with the Bankhead farm-tenancy bill. There is to be no new banking or tax legislation, and well-informed sources assert that the present smelly shipping-subsidy system is to be continued if a new subsidy bill, which merely perfumes the old one, cannot be passed without a stiff fight. Another attempt will be made to slip through the Tydings-McCormack anti-sedition bill, which has the backing of the War and Navy Departments and the opposition of all civilized men. An attempt also will be made to repeal the Warren-Bailey compulsory potato-control act; four repealers were introduced in the House on opening day. But before any of these comes to a vote, the Supreme Court probably will have spared Congress the trouble by scrapping the Bankhead compulsory-cotton-control act. Such a decision actually, if not technically, would also kill the Warren-Bailey potato bill and the Kerr-Smith tobacco-control bill, all of them having been drafted to the same pattern.

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Arms Over Europe

IV. Why Mussolini Went to War

By LOUIS FISCHER

Rome, December 20

MUSSOLINI believes in the ennobling power of war. Fascism, he wrote in 1932, "does not think that permanent peace is possible or desirable." Why? Because "only war raises all exhibitions of human energy to their maximum tension. It puts the stamp of dignity on nations which are able to wage it openly. No other test can take its place."

"I regard the Italian nation," he told the Chamber of Deputies on December 11, 1925, "in a permanent state of war. I have already said, and I repeat, that the next five or ten years will be decisive in the fate of our country. These years will be decisive because the international struggle has already commenced. It will grow fiercer as time goes on, and it is inadmissible that we, with our energy, should appear on the world stage too late." He added amid loud applause: "For me to live is to fight, to risk, to dare." This was Mussolini's honest warning to Europe. Naturally nobody listened.

Lest any person doubt his intentions, he repeated it on May 26, 1927. "The fundamental duty of Fascist Italy," he declared, "is the preparation of all armed forces on land, sea, and in the air. We must be able to mobilize 5,000,000 men. We must strengthen our fleet. Our air force, in which I have more confidence every day, must be so strong that the hum of its motors will drown out all other noises of the peninsula and its wings darken the heavens. Then, between 1935 and 1940, will come the tragic moment in Europe's history, and we can let our voice be heard. We will be in a position to achieve the recognition of our rights. The preparation for this will require several years." Mussolini is a great and dynamic personality. He is also Europe's frankest politician. Moreover, as the Roman daily *Ottobre* says in its permanent masthead, "Mussolini is always right." And now we are "between 1935 and 1940."

Mussolini's aim was foreign conquest. Personal ambitions, personal pride, a statesman's conception of his role in history play a part in shaping policies; and Mussolini saw himself as a modern Caesar. He dreamed of a new Roman Empire. Rome is the eternally beautiful city, and Mussolini has done a remarkable job in restoring its precious ruins and making it clean. Immediately upon my arrival I went to the vast Palazzo Venezia, built of stones taken from the Colosseum. Once the property of the Popes, it is now Mussolini's headquarters. From here the broad new Via dell' Imperio (Empire Avenue), with the Forum and the Column of Trajan on one side and the Forum Romanum on the other, leads to the impressive giant Colosseum. Just before one reaches it, in front of the Forum Romanum, is a brick wall which Mussolini has had decorated with four marble maps. In the first, Europe, upper Africa, and near Asia appear in pure-black shining marble, the seas are striped green stone, and the city of Rome is indicated by a small circle of cafe-au-lait marble. Rome was founded, we read in the eighth century B.C. In the second map, representing the Roman Empire as it was in 146 B.C., the cafe-au-lait spot has spread to include half of Spain, Corsica, Sardinia, Italy, the Illyrian coast—now Yugoslavia—Macedonia, Thrace, and the city of Carthage. This was after the Punic Wars. By 14 A.D., as the third marble chart shows, Rome ruled all of Spain, all of France, Germany as far as the Rhine, southern Europe up to the Danube, Constantinople and its hinterland, Asia Minor, Cilicia, Antioch, Syria, Palestine, Egypt down to the Sudan, Libya, the Carthage region, and part of Numidia. Trajan (98-117 A.D.) brought the empire to its highest flower. His legions held sway over all the cafe-au-lait stretches of the past, plus Britain, Germany as far as the Baltic, the Balkans almost to Russia, Cappadocia, Armenia all the way to the Caspian, Mesopotamia down to the Persian Gulf, and Arabia. Mussolini has certainly noticed in studying this fourth map that his Roman forbears conquered England before they tried to take Ethiopia. It appears that Il Duce wants to upset one more precedent.

Wits add that there is no room on the brick wall for another map. Nevertheless, Fascism has sought to stamp the cult of imperialism on the mind of its people. "Empires come and empires go," a vigorous Fascist said to me yesterday. "Will the British Empire go on forever?" This is heard on all sides. Five days ago I had a long interview with Signor Edmondo Rossoni, said to be the third man in Italy. "Some people think that the world stands still," he declared. "But the dynamics of history is a big thing. I believe in imperialism." Mussolini himself has expounded this doctrine on numerous occasions. In 1926 he said: "Italy demands the acknowledgment by other powers of her undoubted need of sun and earth. If they do not acknowledge it, Italy will be forced to take what she has a right to."

"Africa and the East," that is, Asia Minor, is the direction of Italian expansion as stated by Mussolini in March, 1934. Some of his followers have been more definite. They have thought of Abyssinia, of course, of Egypt, and of India. It is a fact that Italians have endeavored to win over and organize the Indian students in Europe. On October 12, 1935, nine days after war commenced in Ethiopia, the Rome *Messaggero* said:

> Italy has gained an exceptionally favorable position in India in the economic as in the moral field. All India is united in a sentiment of hatred toward the foreign lord who now dominates it. India pays a tribute of glory to the nation which has shown that it can challenge England on the British Empire's ways of communication. . . . British attempts to arouse the colored races against us have failed. The majority of Hindus understand the benefit which Italy's move in Africa represents to the resurgence of India. . . . Enslaved India looks to us as to a last hope.

The Zionist Fascists under Jabotinsky urge an Italian mandate for Palestine. Italian authorities have given them concrete encouragement. Italians have had their eyes on Syria,

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and Roman attempts to gain a foothold in Yemen on the Arabian peninsula are well known. The ambitious are not modest.

The motives behind imperialism vary. The manifestations change. Indeed, of late a few scholars (see, for instance, Dr. William Langer's Critique of Imperialism in a recent issue of *Foreign Affairs*) have even suggested that imperialism no longer springs from economic causes. For this reason Mussolini's policy represents a marvelously interesting case study in the sources and character of Fascist imperialism —a subject which may yet give this troubled world much concern.

In Rome the apologists of Italian imperialism are numerous, vehement, and eloquent. "We are a young nation," they contend. "Fascism has renewed our vigor. But Italy is poor. We are crowded. We will not submit to permanent poverty without a struggle. Foreign countries, particularly the United States, now bar our immigrants, whose departure in former years not only relieved population pressure but also resulted in large financial remittances to the home country. Rising tariff frontiers, moreover, limit our exports; the world depression aggravated this situation. We must have an outlet for our surplus population, for our goods, and for our energy."

But why should fascism, which sometimes begins by nourishing the illusion of autarchy, invariably embrace the credo of external expansion? Are there no possibilities of expansion at home? This question was once answered by Mussolini, who occasionally relapses into the now-rejected phraseology of that early period when he sowed his Marxist oats. Addressing the Chamber of Deputies on May 26, 1927, he said:

> Gentlemen, in order that Italy may become influential she must in the second half of the twentieth century count 60,000,000 inhabitants. You will say: "How will those 60,000,000 live on this territory?" But this same objection was probably made in 1815 when Italy had only 16,000,000 inhabitants. At that time, perhaps, some people believed that it would be impossible for the 40,000,000 of today to find the means of livelihood, at a much higher standard, on our present territory.

Il Duce never uttered a wiser word. This anti-Malthusian doctrine is corroborated by the experience of all nations. Just as the population of Italy, without helpful colonies, increased from 16,000,000 to 40,000,000 in 112 years, so the population of the entire world has risen sharply in consequence of the augmented productive capacity of capitalism and of better public-health conditions, which, in many respects, are a corollary of that augmented productive capacity. What has happened to prevent further progress in the same direction?

This is the problem I carried to Signor Rossoni, Italian Minister of Agriculture and, what is more important, a member of the Grand Fascist Council of Eighteen. After the interview I wrote out his words and submitted them to him; he approved and signed them. He spoke first of Italy's progress in agriculture, of her mounting wheat harvest, and of the greater yield per hectare. In principle we agreed that intensive cultivation by small farmers produces larger crops and employs more men than do most big estates. Thereupon I said to him: "You have a dictatorship. Why don't you nationalize land?" "A dictatorship," the Minister replied, "is a political matter, not an economic or social matter. We cannot take the land away from the landlords. We cannot even fix the price at which we compensate the owners. Land prices are fixed in Italy just as they are in France, America, and other countries. We will proceed in the same way as we have in the past and take over, with compensation, only those lands which are not cultivated. If a landlord wants to sell his entire estate, that is all right. If he wishes to sell part and work the rest, that is all right. The peasants who receive the land sold by the estate owners pay for it in from fifteen to twenty years. Sometimes they become share-croppers of the landlord. In this wise we can place 2,000,000 hectares under cultivation in the next five years and give occupation to 400,000 families. The Fascist government prepares homes, equipment, and animals for these new settlers. They repay in twenty years."

This method must be slow and inadequate, for it places a heavy financial burden on the state. Many landowners have grown extremely rich by selling all or part of their huge latifundia at fancy prices. Moreover, many farmers hesitate to assume such gigantic debts at the start of a new and difficult career. It is probably for this reason that "crowded" Italy has much untilled land. According to the Papal *Osservatore Romano* of December 7, a congress of leaders of Fascist peasant syndicates in the provinces, meeting at Rome, urged that this land be divided. I therefore persisted. "Why," I demanded of Rossoni, "instead of conquering Ethiopia, which you hope will absorb surplus Italians, do you not attempt to accommodate them at home by introducing a land reform?"

"The war," he replied, "perhaps has economic reasons. But chiefly the reasons are moral and political. France did not acquire colonies because she was overpopulated. Nor did England. Economic problems are important, but nations cannot live solely on economic considerations. Italy can make a new contribution to civilization. A new regime could certainly improve conditions in Abyssinia. Mussolini has created a new nation which has a right to contribute to civilization."

This did not satisfy me, and so I said: "You have a dictatorship. You can send people to war, maybe to their death. Why cannot you take vacant land away from the estate owners and give it to the peasants?"

Signor Rossoni, to my delight, replied with equal frankness. "That is demagogy. Peasants must be directed. 'Give land to the peasants.' That is a phrase. There must be organization. We are Fascists, not Socialists." Rossoni, like Mussolini, used to be a Socialist and a workingman. This made our meeting particularly interesting to me. We came soon to talk about corporations and the corporative state. He said: "The Italian corporations unite capitalists, technicians, and workers. The technicians must organize and direct industry. They must not be the instruments of the capitalists. They must guide the workers. The technician is the bridge between the worker and the employer. [All this reminded me of the American technocrats.] The worker himself has no executive ability. If he is talented he soon lifts himself up to a capitalist level. I know Socialist leaders who, when they recognized their own abilities, passed over to the capitalist side. Workers must be well organized and not free to be crazy. A strike is an act of folly. I am not bourgeois. We are anti-bourgeois."

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Mussolini is Minister of Corporations. His Excellency Ferrucio Lantini is Under Minister and actual chief of the ministry. He likewise spoke freely with me about the nature of corporations. "The corporation," he affirmed, "tries to find a common ground between the proprietor of a factory and the workingman. The proprietor, however, remains the proprietor and the workers remain the workers. . . . The regime of corporations is not anti-capitalist." This last statement he repeated several times in order to reassure me, and he sought to prove it.

The best commentary on the words of Signori Lantini and Rossoni was the Senate session I attended. Mussolini was there and was vociferously cheered, but I am not sure whether the Prince of Piedmont, greeted with loud cries of "Savoy!" "Savoy!" and the four royal dukes who accompanied him did not receive at least as much applause. These five gentlemen were driven to the Senate, not in their splendid limousines, but in carriages each drawn by two horses. This is an innocent custom. Yet it is a symbol too, a symbol of conservatism and especially of intimate ties with the land. The Senate includes many heads of landed aristocratic families. And as long as royalty, nobility, and a powerful estate-owning class exist, it is obvious that all the free and undercultivated soil of Italy cannot be distributed among land-hungry peasants. In the Senate, apart from representatives of science, the armed forces, and the arts, sit many industrial magnates. That is another vested interest. Mussolini, to be sure, does not seem to like this reactionary body, and he has reduced it to legislative impotence. Yet it is there to demonstrate that the totalitarian political dictatorship has not been so totalitarian in economic and social matters.

This answers the question why Mussolini launched the East African war. Fourteen years ago Italy was on the verge of a social revolution. The workers had actually seized many of the factories; with more determined leadership they might have seized the state. The peasants were in open revolt against their miserable condition. The capitalists were frightened, economically weak, disappointed by Italy's World War booty, and incapable of producing a stronger figure than the pusillanimous Signor Facta. Then came Mussolini. The country had witnessed numerous armed clashes, one of them between Mussolini's Fascists and Rossoni's Socialist-Syndicalists. Mussolini drew Rossoni and others like him into his own camp. He undermined the movement of protest and received support from defenders of the status quo. There followed the March on Rome and the formation of a Fascist Cabinet by royal decree. Mussolini suppressed the workers' organizations. He inspired the bourgeoisie with new hope and with self-faith. The need was for a social revolution in village and town which would release new productive forces. But the stifling of those who wanted such a solution and the strengthening of those who abhorred it constituted merely a political change. Under the lid on which Mussolini sat firmly the old problems continued to brew. Mussolini did what he could. He launched innumerable public works which reduced unemployment and increased the national debt. He applied strict measures of control to the bourgeoisie, for though he had taught it self-respect he did not respect it. He had saved it, he was saving it every day, and it had to submit. He probably arrested the impoverishment of the lower classes too. But he could not or would not undertake any fundamental economic or social changes.

Within the limits set by the existence and operations of landowners and a city bourgeoisie, Mussolini has done almost as much as he could for Italian economy. He realized soon enough, however, that these limits were confining and began to prepare another stimulus. The stimulus was not the economic profits of imperial expansion. Fascists themselves doubt the material advantages of the conquest of Ethiopia. "What we do in Abyssinia," Rossoni said to me, "depends on the amount of money and free land available." To exploit Abyssinia Italy will have to receive foreign loans, and if she can obtain these she can equally well use them to buy raw materials for intensified industrial production at home. All of Eritrea contained only 3,400 Italian inhabitants in 1934, most of them officials and missionaries. What proof is there that Abyssinia will yield better results?

The Fascists consequently stress other than material considerations. "Of course," Giuseppe Bottai, the Governor of Rome, admitted in an article in the *Messaggero* of November 14, 1935, "the real or possible wealth of Abyssinia is one of the elements of the problem . . . one of the elements, but not the decisive one." Italy has a mission; she must civilize. Italy is virile; she must find an outlet for her zeal and vigor. If Italy had vast possibilities for development within her borders, her rulers might say to the growing generation: "Prepare to become rich. Invent new machines. Build new industries and cities. Lead Italy forward toward economic greatness." Those possibilities do not exist. The regime therefore says: "War dignifies"—war for its own sake. "We have a right to an empire"; it enriches our national personality. This mystic cult becomes a necessity to a regime which has reached an economic and social impasse. Such is the force of agitation and education these days that abstract values like blood and soil or the call to carry Europe's heritage to dark Africa acquire a reality which moves hundreds of thousands to the sincerest efforts and the greatest sacrifices —although very few Italians have as yet subjected themselves to the ennobling influence of fighting in Abyssinia; they have gallantly stepped aside for their Eritrean Askaris.

Cramped by its own determination to remain a political dictatorship, Italian Fascism has tied itself into a knot which it hopes to cut with the sword. But it cuts itself when it tries to cut that knot. With or without Abyssinia Fascism must still face Italy's internal problems. The suspicion exists, therefore, that the mystic cult will have to be driven farther. It must be fed with new goals—Egypt, India? If England were to yield Abyssinia with little resistance, Italy might assume that less time and effort would be required to take the Nile lands than to convert Abyssinia into an asset.

No matter how much of Abyssinia they get, it will not be enough for the Italian Fascists. There is little balm in Ethiopia. Mussolini may know this. Several weeks ago, one hears, he told a number of foreigners that the Abyssinian war might lead him to make a social revolution. How he could do such a thing he did not say. But this is a pregnant thought. Apparently Mussolini realizes wherein he has failed.

[*This is the fourth of a series of articles in which Mr. Fischer surveys the present international crisis from various European capitals. The fifth will appear in the issue of January 29.*]

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Presidential Possibilities
II. Landon as a Candidate

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

GOVERNOR LANDON, as a candidate, would be no barnstormer and no mesmerist. He is not an orator, nor can he hide the deficiency behind a flow of easy self-revelation or even good fun. A candidate, or a President, does not have to write his own speeches, since this is the age of universal and shameless ghosting, and a public man can cull the best thoughts and best phrases from the minds around him. Even so, Landon would not deliver them brightly. He is the sober sort of speaker, running easily into homely abstractions. He could not have become Governor of Kansas by virtue of his speeches. He did it by building up an incredibly large personal acquaintanceship. As a political technique this is impossible nationally. Something like it might work if Landon had the gift of being warm and friendly over the radio; but though I have not heard him at the microphone, I am certain this is not his line. I doubt his ability to project his personality into the homes where he would be heard. So he would be only an average campaigner, and would appear mediocre when measured against the exceptional talents of Roosevelt.

So far he has not been specific about what he wants to see done nationally. This may be strategy, but I imagine it also is his nature. The national problem has suddenly loomed before him in a new aspect. He no longer is a sideline observer, but must be prepared to state his own views responsibly. He has declined to rush in with explicit declarations. He is feeling his way, and if he became President he would feel his way at Washington. That is, he is not spectacular or didactic or given to quick judgments. Nor is he thinking of how to set the stage so as to get the utmost popular acclaim. He is not the sort to promise to sweep the New Deal dramatically away. Speaking of the Roosevelt policies he said in his Cleveland speech: "I shall not attempt to characterize them as successes or failures, as revolutionary or evolutionary. For better or worse, such laws are there. . . . The major task ahead in the main is not more laws or more programs or more experimentation but sound common-sense administration." Here is a man, picked by some of the most pathological foes of Roosevelt to beat him, who himself is no such foe. Much in the New Deal he likes. What revolts him is extravagance and waste, and uncertainty about financial stability. He will not be hostile to whatever form of farm relief emerges from the ruins of the AAA. At least he will keep the principle of aid to agriculture until agriculture is on a sound footing. He would not, I believe, scrap the TVA —if the Supreme Court reprieves it. He is no friend of the utilities and no protagonist of bigness. One of his legislative successes has been to get through a law requiring public utilities in Kansas to pay the costs of any investigation by the state supervising commission. It took two sessions to get the bill through; in the first it was defeated because the railroads were included and took the responsibility of killing it. Before the second session the Governor made a bargain with the railroads giving them some minor concessions, and so split the opposition. Now the Kansas utilities will be under a control that previously could not be financed by the state treasury.

He does not believe that the restoration of confidence is the only task of a Republican President. "Even with the return of industrial activity," he said in his Cleveland speech, "there will be major social, farm, and economic problems to meet. We must build against a return of what we have been through these past years. We must build on the realization that this economic situation did not come upon us suddenly, nor will we get out of it overnight." And he goes on to say: "We must face the fact that our economic difficulties now have basic world-wide implications, whereas previous depressions have been more completely mobilized within our domestic area."

A few sentences scrutinized like this make the Cleveland speech more meaningful than it was to his listeners, who dismissed it as not saying very much. A good many of Landon's views are hidden in it, for instance, his attitude toward relief. The budget balancers as a group speak about relief in stern tones and have awakened the suspicion that they are not deeply concerned about it. But to Landon the unemployed are victims of a system and not personally derelict. Relief "is a mutual responsibility, a common obligation created by the rapidity of our growth, the complexity of our society, and our inability to cope with situations as fast as they have arisen. Every right-thinking person sincerely desires to see the need for relief to the unemployed speedily pass away. Until that time comes it is reasonable—and nothing less than just—that the government exert all its powers to prevent suffering among the less fortunate."

An interesting sidelight on this comment is to be found in his inaugural address of January 14, 1935. "Our problems have been intensified," he said then, "by the great industrial plutocracy we have built since our last great depression of 1893. New adjustments must be made as a result of the development of machine production in the last quarter century." "The great industrial plutocracy"—these are strange words from Mr. Hearst's nominee. And the long view of the depression is out of key with the current Republican dogma, which is on the point of claiming that all was well under Coolidge and Hoover and that the shadow the New Deal cast before it actually caused the worst of the depression. Landon's belief in change is expressed in the same inaugural address: "America bids fair to join the procession of nations of the world in their march toward a new social and economic philosophy. Some say this will lead to socialism, some communism, others fascism. For myself I am convinced that the ultimate goal will be a modified form of individual rights and ownership of property out of which will come a wider spread of prosperity and opportunity for a fuller, richer life." Supplementing this thought he said in Cleveland: "Out in Kansas we try to distinguish between progress and change, to evaluate change not only in its im-

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mediate effects but in its lasting results. . . . In solving old problems we must avoid the creation of new ones. . . . An innovation may be a backward step. This has been demonstrated in foreign countries where civil liberties have been yielded in return for economic security, without gaining economic security. Such a step in this country would be disastrous to all American ideas and traditions."

Sooner or later Landon will be more specific, and then the country will know whether he is doing his own thinking or subordinating himself to the big chance of being nominated and elected. The East, of course, will want him to stress the Kansas economies. But the balanced Kansas budgets—even 8,000 of them—are not particularly good campaign material. Reducing expenditure is a terribly depressing topic to most voters, who know about it from personal experience, and the Kansas story is not without its dangers. The school teachers, who have taken up to 25 per cent cuts in salaries already none too large, the recipients of old-age pensions now getting on the average less than $9 a month, would not be eloquent supporters of the blessings of penny-pinching in Kansas. The Kansas roads are not being maintained as they should be in a progressive state, and the highway workers are paid hardly more than relief rates. The pay-as-you-go principle was no doubt justified in Kansas, for a state that had tumbled in corn production to one-third of its peak and was suffocated by the dust of its worst drought, had to bring down the speed of spending. I do not minimize the Landon achievement. I simply doubt that it will win millions of votes.

Kansas has survived, in the last analysis, not because of economies but because of federal expenditure in the state. Landon's leadership did bring a reduction in the cost of local and state government, and the figures are impressive. The per capita cost of state government fell from $15.68 in 1932 to $12.06 in 1933, $13.31 in 1934, and $13.41 in 1935. The cost of local government fell even more, from $51.67 in 1932 to $42.87 in 1933, $38.01 in 1934, and $39.13 in 1935. In these years the state and local bonded indebtedness was reduced $18,500,000. But this could not have happened without the flow of federal relief money into the state. True, the same flow went into other states, and most of them have not managed anything like so well as Kansas. But there is a defect in the logic of arguing that Landon's economies of themselves represent salvation, since they were possible only against the background of federal relief poured in by the Roosevelt Administration. If Landon were President he could only repeat the miracle on a national scale by combining federal relief with skilful administration. Moreover, the status of relief in Kansas has not been anything to boast about. Last March Kansas ranked fifteenth among the states in supplementing federal expenditure with local appropriations. The rate of relief thus paid was low according to Eastern standards and has been slightly below the national average. It has, however, been higher than in the surrounding agricultural states. The humanitarian course would have been to pay more relief and postpone debt reduction till better days. But this has not been Landon's particular problem as the money for relief in Kansas is not raised by the state but is contributed by the local communities.

I have stressed the fact that Governor Landon is not a star performer on the platform. But he is a gifted executive. He knows what he wants to get done, and his art is in handling people to that end. When he was elected governor for his first term, he had a nominal majority of two in the legislature. But some of his Republicans were followers of Dr. Brinkley, the goat-gland specialist, and couldn't be trusted. Landon saw that his problem was to rally both Democrats and Republicans behind his program, and the Landon economies, of which Republicans now seek to make the most bitter partisan use, were the result. The party caucus in the Kansas legislature became almost unknown, and the reform of Kansas finances was a non-partisan triumph. Now this is an ability for which Washington offers plenty of scope. But it is not one which Eastern Republicans are polishing up for their main sales argument in the campaign. Actually it stultifies the use to which they want to put Governor Landon. The myth they want to create is of a Republican who kept the party flag flying during the worst Democratic assault of a generation. Is he not the one Republican elected governor west of the Mississippi in the Democratic landslide of 1932, and the only Republican governor reelected two years later? This being his distinction, is he not a find for his party? But on closer examination he turns out to be a man who rode the storm by being able to forget much of the time that he was a Republican.

This is not to say that Governor Landon is not a politician, a Republican politician at that. Nor are the two statements incompatible. The job of the politician is to get into power; after he gets there it is to use the power to stay in power. Landon came into power by a narrow margin, by a majority of 6,000 the first time and, as I have said, with only a nominal majority in his legislature. But to get into power at all was a triumph, and he beat Governor Woodring, now Assistant Secretary of War, who had been a good governor. To do this he had to end a feud in the Republican Party in Kansas, and that meant playing politics shrewdly and confidently. It meant tying together the left center wing —to which he and William Allen White belong—with the right center wing, personified in John Hamilton, now national Republican committeeman from Kansas and assistant for many months to National Chairman Fletcher in Washington. To the left of them remained former Governor Clyde Reed, who had worked his way into a lone position not because he was much more radical but because he was hard to get along with. To the right was the Old Guard, headed by former Vice-President Curtis. Landon consolidated the party between the outer wings of Reed and Curtis, and this was enough to win the election in a normally Republican state. Thereupon he departed from the straight party tradition during his first term, made his non-partisan record in the legislature, and was reelected by 60,000. This was good politics even when it was non-partisan. It even follows a pattern which can be applied nationally. Landon is wise enough to get on with his opposition when that is the thing to do, and since the next Senate is sure to be Democratic, this is an essential virtue for a Republican President. But it is hardly the quality for which he is being trumpeted by Hearst and the people who believe they have found a Kansas Coolidge.

Any estimate of Landon as a candidate should include consideration of his attitude toward labor. I have already said that his experience in this intricate field is limited by the conditions of Kansas. The largest city in the state is Kansas City, Kansas, which really is a suburb of the larger city across the Missouri line. Next to it in size is Wichita, cer-

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tainly no industrial melting-pot. The Governor, however, did name as labor commissioner an official of the Kansas Federation of Labor, and I was told that federation members feel he has done as much for them as any governor of recent years. He had one moment of national attention in a labor dispute when he sent the National Guard into the southeast corner of the state in June, 1934. This is one of the unhappiest industrial districts in America, a mining zone lying in three states—Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri. During the trouble that year the troops of Oklahoma as well as of Kansas were called out, and the Oklahoma troops, according to the memory of the miners, behaved scandalously and the Kansas troops well. In Kansas, at least, meetings of strikers were permitted. The radical union which was taking the lead at the time was badly beaten and will hold this in part against Landon. But as he sent his labor commissioner, a former union official, to the scene of trouble, and acted under his advice, he cannot be bracketed with the governors of Indiana and Oregon, who openly put their troops at the service of employers. Landon's inclination, certainly, is to be fair to labor, and in theory he believes in collective bargaining. But even in his own business he has had little experience with unions. The oil fields, where he has made his money, have not yet faced unionization. Landon has not opposed unions there; the problem has simply not come up. And his record is that he was the first operator publicly to take a stand for the eight-hour day in the oil fields. In each of his two messages to the legislature he has urged legislation to benefit labor, and he strongly recommended, and worked for, the ratification of the child-labor amendment, though without success. Kansas farmers, for all their liberalism in other directions, thought this amendment would forbid the younger members of the family to work on the farm, and therefore rejected it.

Since Hearst is Landon's discoverer and sponsor, some mention should also be made of his attitude toward civil liberties. Here, again, he is a Kansan, which is to say that he takes civil liberties for granted. I have already recalled the fact that he once introduced Norman Thomas at a meeting in Kansas. This was several years ago, and it was such a natural thing for a natural Kansan to do that it doesn't merit much attention, certainly not as an act of distinguished bravery. I can add one more detail which shows how naturally Landon responds in such matters. A somewhat radical professor from the University of Kansas went to Oklahoma to lecture, and the Governor received a letter of complaint about Kansas sending out such a "dangerous" missionary. To the complainant, who was a friend of his, Landon replied simply enough that Kansas hadn't "sent" the professor; he had been invited to come to Oklahoma. He then added: "Under the academic freedom which we practice here in Kansas we do not attempt to control the thinking of the members of the faculties of our schools."

My conclusion is that Landon the candidate is much like Landon the man in being strangely different from the use that his sponsors seek to make of him. He is no bitter partisan, and he would be no grim, reactionary crusader against the "new tendencies." He is not much, if at all, less progressive in philosophy than Franklin D. Roosevelt, and if he only could, he would improve the quality of government, which in the last analysis means to scrap the spoils system. Why Hearst and the East have selected him baffles me. I am told that Hearst sent half a dozen men to Kansas to study his record before he came out for him. I can only wonder whether Hearst is more of a liberal than he shows himself in his newspapers or I am a worse reporter than I care to believe.

[*Part I of Mr. Swing's article on Governor Landon appeared last week. An analysis of Colonel Frank Knox as a Presidential candidate, also by Mr. Swing, will appear in an early issue.*]

Correspondence

"Paradise Lost"

To the Editors of The Nation:

Because Joseph Wood Krutch's review of Clifford Odets's "Paradise Lost" appears in *The Nation* (issue of December 25) it cannot, as it should, be ignored. Your readers have a right to assume that the same standards of social responsibility are brought to your criticism of the arts as may be found in your articles dealing with political and economic subjects.

However, not by the furthest stretch of good-will could this review be dignified by the term criticism; it is not even honest reporting. On the contrary Mr. Krutch has written a hysterical polemic attacking the integrity and seriousness of one of our few important young playwrights—with a jeer or two thrown in for the most mature theater artists in America, the Group Theater.

The "St. Clifford" of the title sets the tone of Mr. Krutch's piece. It irks him considerably that Mr. Odets's previous plays, "Waiting for Lefty" and "Awake and Sing," received the admiration and acclaim which both the critics and the public accorded them. He then goes on to describe this much deeper and more complex play in terms of a mere list of the vices of some of its characters: "murder," "adultery," "embezzlement," and so on. That both "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" and Dostoevski's "Idiot" could also be so described is obvious. But that does not trouble Mr. Krutch in the least. For his purpose is to discredit, not to evaluate. Neither Shakespeare nor Dostoevski were so unfortunate as to be contemporaries of Mr. Krutch. That really is Mr. Odets's intolerable mistake.

Did not Mr. Krutch write a book, "The Modern Temper," part of whose burden was the inevitable sterility of the arts in our time? I remember that Waldo Frank's review of this book characterized it as an expression of defeatism. Frank's analysis of Mr. Krutch's primary motivation also explains this review. But now his defeatism reveals itself in its ugliest form, hysterical malice and a wanton will to destroy. To those who have seen "Paradise Lost" such a review as this can only emphasize the truthfulness and pertinence of the play. For Mr. Krutch's criticism reminds one of that hysteria which animates the character of Marcus Katz, the pocket-book manufacturer, whose arrogance toward other people, whose cruel and false accusation of sterility against his wife, are revealed as pathetic compensations for his own impotence.

New York, December 28 Paul Strand

To the Editors of The Nation:

The Group Theater letter by Mr. Krutch in his article entitled On Good Intentions in your issue of January 1, though sent to all the criticis, was not intended as a reply to his review of Clifford Odets's play "Paradise Lost." As a group the newspaper reviewers praised many things in Mr. Odets's new

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play; the Group's statement was meant to point out that both praise and blame were equivocal since they had not made clear that the play, whether good or bad, was on a different level from most plays that are dubbed "entertainment." Since Mr. Krutch found practically nothing good in the play, it is obvious that our remarks could not apply to his review.

This does not signify, however, that we can accept Mr. Krutch's observations on our letter. By omitting its first two paragraphs Mr. Krutch alters its meaning. What Mr. Krutch says in effect is: The Group Theater deems it enough to assert that Clifford Odets wrote his play with honest motives; therefore the critics should have recommended it to their readers. But the Group Theater's letter bore a much clearer message—to wit, imperfect or not, in "Paradise Lost" the "level of thought, emotion, understanding is not only of a very high order but such as we find perhaps once in ten years in our theater." Mr. Krutch, we know, violently disagrees with our opinion, but no one ought to imply that we advanced the namby-pamby plea of "good intentions."

This, however, is a minor matter. More interesting are the generalizations that Mr. Krutch draws from the argument. "A pretty good tragedy," he says, "is not better than a very good farce." Perhaps Mr. Krutch is right. Yet we should like to hazard a few counter-statements of a more specific nature. Might we suggest that Chekov's immature tragedy "Ivanoff" is more important or, if you will, "better" than a very good farce like "She Loves Me Not"? Is it too much to say that Ibsen's unsuccessful tragedy "When We Dead Awaken" is "better" than a very good farce like "Seven Keys to Baldpate," or that O'Neill's weaker tragedies, like "Diff'rent" and "The Straw," are "better" than Molnar's "The Play's the Thing"?

We are not arguing at this moment the inherent superiority of tragedy to farce; we simply wish to submit that Mr. Krutch's friendly comments in this instance are questionable and a little beside the mark. The arbitrary contrast between "pretty good tragedy" and "very good farce" has hardly anything to do with "Paradise Lost," which may possibly not be a tragedy and certainly isn't a farce. Our point, we repeat, is that even with its faults "Paradise Lost" is a play of a superior order because its characters are alive, its dialogue is rich and pungent, its situations are affecting, and its feeling at least is as valid an expression of what many people feel to be the truth about the middle-class as is Mr. Krutch's flat denial.

New York, December 30 HAROLD CLURMAN,
for the Group Theater

More Names for the Honor Roll

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

To your excellent honor roll for the year I should like to add the following names:

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE and INVESTIGATOR S. H. RAUSHENBUSH, for their endeavors to dig up all the facts concerning the munitions racket in the face of the bitterest opposition by reactionaries.

GENERAL SMEDLEY D. BUTLER, for his intelligent criticism of the misuse of the army, navy, and National Guard, in *Common Sense.*

GEORGE SELDES, for writing "Sawdust Caesar" and "Freedom of the Press," the most revealing non-fiction books of the year.

SINCLAIR LEWIS, for "It Can't Happen Here," which has shocked and instructed thousands of hundred-per-centers.

PROFESSOR ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, of the University of Chicago, for his courage in defending academic freedom of speech before a reactionary investigating committee last spring.

ISIDOR FEINSTEIN, for pursuing in the New York *Post* the most intelligent and independent editorial policy any big metropolitan newspaper has displayed in recent years.

NORMAN THOMAS, a perennial honor roller, for fighting a vigorous battle against oppression and tyranny everywhere.

THE EDITORS OF THE NATION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC, if their collective blushes will permit it, for the most courageous and instructive journalism of the year.

FRANCIS GORMAN, for his part in furthering the campaign for a Labor Party.

And, perhaps most important of all, with the hearty respect and admiration of a fellow-student, the members of the NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE COMMITTEE, for their part in organizing last April's student strike against war, the greatest pacifist demonstration the United States has seen in years, and the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE and the STUDENT LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, for their part in organizing the American Student Union.

New York, December 30 ASHER LANS

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I want to call your attention to a gross omission in your Honor Roll for 1935—the name of the great humanitarian Dr. Francis E. Townsend. How come?

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 26 GEORGE FENTRICK

The Eternal Principles

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The series of articles, Our Critics, Right or Wrong, which has recently appeared in *The Nation* aroused a strong desire to protest from time to time, but the sprightly style rather disarmed criticism, and I have contented myself with sheer enjoyment. My interest in literary criticism is apparently greater than my objection to somewhat unfounded strictures, however, and as a result I now feel impelled to write for information.

In the last article (issue of December 18) the Misses Marshall and McCarthy criticize Mr. Gannett for confessing to a "lamentable ignorance of the eternal principles of criticism." I too think that such a statement is open to certain comment, only mine would not quite coincide with theirs. What I most want to know—and from what the authors say I imagine they must know—is, what are these eternal principles of criticism? Where can they be found? I am slightly acquainted with the major critical dicta from Aristotle to our present critics (right or wrong), but I cannot recall ever having seen any list of such eternal principles—at least not any that any group of appreciable size would agree to for any appreciable time. Could the authors be induced to take the few moments necessary to help?

Millburn, N. J., December 28 PHILIP C. JONES

Dr. Felix Adler

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

A "Life and Letters of Dr. Felix Adler" is being prepared by his wife and daughter. Anyone having any letters in his possession is requested to send them to the undersigned, who will greatly appreciate the use of them, and will have copies made and the originals returned without delay. The address is 3902 Spuyten Duyvil Parkway, Riverdale, New York.

Riverdale, N. Y., December 20 ELEANOR H. ADLER

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Company Unions, F.O.B. Detroit

By ANTHONY LUCHEK

LABOR organizations in the automobile industry were practically non-existent in January, 1933. Since then a foothold has been gained by every sort of workers' group known to organized labor, and by a few new and unique ones. There has been a lively fight for workers' allegiance among such varied groups as company unions, works councils, American Federation of Labor unions, unaffiliated unions, a rump union, a dingman's club, proportional-representation agencies created by the Automobile Labor Board, an independent union growing out of one of these agencies, a "debating society," a confederation, and finally an amalgamation of unaffiliated unions. All these have been competing for membership and the right to be recognized as the one workers' bargaining agency in the automobile plants.

The Company Instals a Union

Company unions were introduced just at the time that the automobile-manufacturing code under the NRA was adopted. It was no coincidence that independent unions had already begun their organization campaigns and had attracted a nucleus of members in many plants of the industry. There was wide variation in the organization, plan, and scope of the company unions set up to meet this competition. Some were "membership organizations" in which workers enrolled voluntarily or otherwise. Others were plant-wide systems of representation in which all employees automatically participated. Some provided for joint meetings of workers' representatives and management, others for meetings of representatives only. Representatives had to be employed in the department they represented and could hold no supervisory position. Often citizenship requirements and seniority status were added to the required qualifications. All automobile manufacturing companies except the Ford Motor Company and a few independents had some form of company union. General Motors, Chrysler, Hudson, and Packard were the most active.

There were important differences in the manner of introducing plans to the workers. In one of the most successful plans the idea of a company union was suggested to a committee of workers chosen from each department. Various plans operating in other industries were described to them, and a proposed constitution was submitted for their criticism. After a discussion resulting in a few minor changes, a panel from the group was elected as a steering committee to conduct the election of representatives; the company union was then in operation. Another manufacturer drew up a plan which was submitted to the employees for approval and adopted by an overwhelming majority. However, the procedure followed in this election did not permit the freedom of choice that an election suggests. One morning in October, 1933, each employee found in his clock-card space a letter from the president of the company announcing the plan and urging him to vote for its adoption. This was the first news of a representation plan received by the workman. Shortly after he commenced work he was given a pamphlet describing the plan. Before noon of the same day he was approached by his foreman together with two "front-office" employees, one of whom carried a ballot-box and the other a ballot on which he was asked to indicate whether or not he was in favor of the proposal. He had to vote "yes" or "no" before three management representatives upon a proposal which he had not even had time to read. Of course, the vote resulted in an overwhelming majority in favor of adoption. The faith of the workers in this representation plan after it had been in operation for some time was shown when it was reconsidered in a secret-ballot election conducted by the Automobile Labor Board. Only 11 men out of more than 18,000 voted for it.

An automobile-parts plant also had its employees vote on whether or not they wanted a company union, but when the workers voted two to one against its adoption, the management did not announce the results of the election. Instead, it stated that "the results of ballots cast fully warrant carrying through the plan," and proceeded to do so!

According to the method most commonly followed in the industry, the management drew up a representation plan, submitted it to an employees' committee for discussion (if none existed, a committee was appointed), and then had the committee conduct the election. Since the vast majority of workers participated in the election, the management assumed that the workers supported the plan.

The automobile worker was anxious to try some form of collective bargaining to improve his status. He found both company unions and independent unions competing for his support. Because of the recent introduction of labor organizations the automobile worker had not developed an allegiance to any one form. He was willing to try anything, and that is what he usually did. Frequently the hopeful workman held membership in several labor organizations. The company union enjoyed special attractiveness, since it had the management's support and was free from dues, so he usually joined this too. What benefits did the company union obtain for him?

It Thickens the Ham in Ham Sandwiches

Many petty grievances and misunderstandings which had been causes of irritation on his job were corrected. For example, an open door leading to the dock made a certain department a cold and drafty place in winter. The company union had the door closed, making the workman's job much more comfortable. Now that his representative has been able to get the windows washed on his side of the plant, he has some daylight. He can make more money on his piece-rate job now, because the company-union representative complained about the condition of the department tools at the request of his constituents and the company had them restored to first-class order. The ham in the sandwiches has been increased in thickness by the company union—it fixed a standard thickness with micrometers; the milk bottles now carry sanitary caps; the candy bars have improved in quality; the toilets are cleaner; a coat rack has been provided; and the

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parking-lot mud holes have been filled. The workman can also participate in group athletics with the boys from the shop, thanks to the recreation committee of the company union. And now that he is a member of the company union he can—sometimes must—take advantage of group insurance and a savings plan. His condition has been improved in minor ways, and the management has been careful to point out that the company union has been responsible for these benefits. In other words, the company union has succeeded in doing some of the work which perfectly functioning personnel and engineering departments should do.

Wages and Hours Are "Problems of Management"

However, the fundamental problems of collective bargaining in the automobile industry pertain to wages, hours of work, speed of work, lay-off, and rehiring. These are not subjects with which the company union is primarily concerned. When such problems are introduced, they usually come as a complaint from a single individual or department. It is true that when wage rates within a department are obviously inequitable, adjustments are readily obtained by the company union. But when requests for general increases in wages are presented, the management usually argues that it is impossible to grant them because of the competitive nature of the industry and their effect on the price of the car.

By carefully building up a series of favorable decisions in small matters the employer hoped to establish the desirability and effectiveness of the company union in the eyes of the workers. In one instance a department organized by an outside union was asking for an increase in wages. The management refused to deal with the independent union, but told the men to refer the matter to their company-union representative. When he presented their case, the department was granted an increase. Such experiences make a strong impression on the workers. In the spring of 1934 the 10 per cent increase in wages throughout the industry was announced in some of the plants through the company union, giving the workers the impression that the company union was responsible for obtaining the higher rates. As a matter of fact, a threatened strike by an outside union had really occasioned the increase. When wage changes are granted through a company union, it is difficult to tell whether this agency is really responsible. The existence of an outside union or the threat of unionization plays an important role. Some employers definitely banned the question of wages from company-union proceedings by stating that wages and hours were problems of management and therefore could not be proper subjects for collective bargaining.

Disillusionment Sets In

The deliberate enhancement of the prestige of the company union was not universally practiced. An example will suggest how a careless reply by a management lost the support of the workers. When one representative complained to the management that his wages were not sufficient for him to support his family, he was told that he shouldn't have married if he wasn't able to keep a wife. Because the management frequently let cases hang fire for long periods when it did not intend to render a favorable decision, the company union often lost the confidence of the workers. Let one of the representatives tell you in his own words:

"After this man's case had dragged along far enough, the man comes to me and I start to talk to him. He says, 'Oh, Christ, don't ever talk to me. I've listened to you for four months now. You say two weeks, then thirty days.' I say, 'I can't do no more. I am working my damnedest on it. The only thing I can do is if you make a statement, I will take it up again.' He says, 'No, I will forget about it.'"

One employer expressed confidence in his ability to control the company-union representatives. He has found that the representatives "are good boys and willing to listen to reason." "When the boys get out of line," he calls them in "to straighten them out." He has had trouble with only two representatives; one of these was asked to resign from the company union and the other resigned of his own accord to join an independent union.

With such experiences why did not some company unions become more militant? The answer lies in the existence of outside unions in the industry. The more aggressive representatives, becoming discouraged with the work of the council, soon left that body in disgust to join independent unions. More complacent employees were satisfied with their success in correcting minor grievances.

There are, to my knowledge, three plants in the automobile-manufacturing industry where the company union is acceptable to a substantial group of workers. In all of these, workers are actively organized in independent unions. In one of the plants almost all the employees support one group or the other, with strength about equally divided. The sincerity of the management in dealing with the company union may be due to the competition of other labor groups.

The typical worker's attitude toward company unions was expressed by the representative who said to the Automobile Labor Board, "We will be glad we won't have to serve as representatives of the company's employees' association" after the Automobile Labor Board elections. Another representative told how they "would discuss baseball, boxing, washing windows or floors for hours at a time, and the company praised us for our good taste in not mentioning wages, hours, or working conditions." The workers soon learned the place of the company union in collective bargaining.

Enter the Automobile Labor Board

When the Automobile Labor Board set up its system of proportional representation in the winter of 1935, the company unions were reduced to an indeterminate position. In a few plants where independent unions were relatively weak, the company union was identified in the worker's mind with the "bargaining agency" instituted by the Automobile Labor Board's election. There was a degree of truth in this impression, since many of the representatives were elected as affiliates of the company union. Some company unions dropped collective bargaining and functioned only in welfare and recreational activities. The typical situation was one in which the company union ceased functioning altogether.

In practice the Automobile Labor Board agency was essentially a continuation of the company union. Except for minor modifications the procedure of the bargaining agency and the problems discussed in the meetings followed those of the company union. There were, however, three real differences between the Automobile Labor Board's agency and the company union: (1) The voting for representatives was an unqualified free election. (2) The workers could elect anyone to represent them, whether or not he worked in their

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department. (3) Since the government conducted the election, the representatives secured an official position in the eyes of the workers. Here was a new agency that gave the workers fresh hope of improving their status.

The Run-Around, Continued

The elected representatives soon lost interest because the Automobile Labor Board delayed unduly in determining rules for procedure, thus giving the employers an opportunity to lay down rules following company-union practice. When the Automobile Labor Board finally did establish a set of rules, they were so general in character that they did not alter the operation of the bargaining boards. The agencies continued to meet during the life of the board in spite of dwindling interest on the part of the workers.

The failure to get satisfaction on grievances presented under the company-union procedure was the real reason for the decline of interest of the workers and their representatives. In general the Automobile Labor Board agencies were more aggressive than the company unions had been. They introduced more issues dealing with the fundamental problems of collective bargaining. This aggressiveness, plus the reduced threat of unionization and the employers' half-hearted acceptance of the Automobile Labor Board agencies (since they were upsetting their existing industrial relations), brought blunt refusals from employers who would have declined more tactfully under the company union.

Battles for Independence

Disillusioned with their attempt to obtain collective bargaining under the Automobile Labor Board agency, one group of representatives gradually built up an independent union which has spread to other plants in the industry. Under rules of procedure laid down by the company this Automobile Labor Board agency was required to meet with an equal number of management representatives to settle grievances. The workers' delegates found that nothing could be successfully accomplished in an unwieldy body of more than a hundred men which met but once a month. The meetings usually degenerated into debates during which hours were spent on some trivial question. The telling blow was administered by the declaration of company executives that decisions of the joint council on questions of wages and hours were not binding on the management.

The men's representatives felt that by forming an executive committee of a few members who would meet with responsible management they would have a satisfactory form of collective bargaining. Upon the refusal of the management to accept this proposal, the representatives carried their case to the Automobile Labor Board with unsatisfactory results. The board argued that since the management had no voice in determining the number of representatives the workers elected, the workers did not have the right to determine how many representatives the management would appoint to meet with them. At the same hearing the board declared that the bargaining agency could discuss anything pertaining to collective bargaining—including wages and hours—but no method was provided for reaching an agreement.

The representatives, determined to secure some means for effective collective bargaining, finally decided to present a questionnaire to each employee in order to obtain his opinion on the formation of an outside union. Ninety per cent of the workmen reached cast an affirmative vote and contributed twenty-five cents to the cause. This Automobile Labor Board agency then called mass-meetings of automobile workers urging them to join any of the independent unions. In the meantime, it enrolled a majority of workers in a "neutral" organization. This group would later determine by vote with which one of the established unions it would affiliate. Upon deciding that no established union was acceptable, it formed a new independent one. Since then it has enrolled workers in about a dozen automobile plants, claiming a membership of 20,000.

Another movement toward independent unionism grew out of an association of the Automobile Labor Board agencies. These bodies had hardly begun to function when a group of representatives invited all functioning agencies to send delegates to a meeting for the purposes of exchanging experiences. Sixteen groups from Detroit, Pontiac, and Lansing were sufficiently interested to send their officers to learn what others were doing. They formed a permanent association called the Officers' Association of Automobile Employee Representatives. Its purposes were "to create a central agency for the exchange of information and individual experience, to establish more uniform practices, and to build a united front." Although it was a conglomerate group of independent unionists, company-union chiefs, and unaffiliated men, all were sincerely interested in improving the conditions of automobile workers. Dissension soon arose. Upon being overruled in their objection to the election of an independent-union official to an executive position in the association, a group of company-union men withdrew from membership. Another company-union delegation refused to participate in future meetings. By the fall of 1935 all delegates who continued to attend had joined some independent union.

Reorganizing for Action

Realizing the ineffectiveness of the Automobile Labor Board agencies, the association decided to reorganize. All independent unions were asked to send responsible leaders to its meeting to form a cooperative association of unions. The American Federation of Labor refused to participate, but the three largest unaffiliated unions accepted. A loose association of participating unions was organized, called the Brotherhood of Allied Automobile Organizations.

In plants where there are no competing labor organizations the Labor Board agencies are continuing their company-union business. One group has split in two, the outside-union representatives no longer meeting with company-union representatives. The two groups have established separate meetings and deal with management separately. One agency has formally resigned as a body. In many instances individuals have resigned. This is especially true of union men, since some unions do not permit their members to serve as representatives on these agencies. Since no official provisions were made for such replacements, some districts are without representation. With a new production season already under way the typical attitude is one of indecision. Neither the management nor the workers know what to do with the Automobile Labor Board agencies.

This situation has given some employers, in plants where conditions permit, the opportunity to revive the company union. One plant mailed ballots to its employees with a list of persons eligible to serve as representatives. Only 15 per

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cent of the workers reached cast their vote. Another company union has moved off company property and plans to limit its functions to collective bargaining, leaving its welfare and recreational activities to the company. Most employers are waiting to see what will happen to the National Labor Relations Act and what independent unions will do before deciding to revive company unions.

In general, the automobile worker, recognizing the need for complete freedom of action, has turned to independent unionism. Since he also realizes the weaknesses of collective bargaining when an organization is limited to a single plant, he is participating in a definite move toward the formation of inter-plant unions. One year ago it would have been impossible to get the unaffiliated unions together even unofficially to discuss mutual problems. Today they are actually amalgamating for more effective action.

[*This is the second of a series of articles on company unions in various industries. The third, on company unions in steel, will appear in an early issue.*]

Facts for Consumers

THE steady growth of the consumer cooperative movement is indicated by the attention recently given it by business and advertising journals. Apparently the interpreters of business trends are becoming apprehensive, for Babson's Reports have warned subscribers that "this consumers' movement . . . has certain elements which are fundamentally sound. . . . If consumers ever get organized and go into real action, our present retailing, wholesaling, and producing systems might be blown to bits." *Printer's Ink* remarks: "Until the last year or so manufacturers of advertised brands have laughed off the co-op movement. . . . There hasn't been so much laughing lately."

Business, however, is ahead of the average consumer, who still has only the vaguest conception of the cooperative principles. But consumers are rapidly learning the advantages of cooperative buying. Both in number of members and volume of business the consumer cooperatives have grown prodigiously during the depression years. Although the compilation of the 1935 figures has not yet been completed, the indications are that sales for the year reached the half-billion mark. In England 50 per cent of the retail business in food and clothing is handled by the "co-ops."

A true co-op, organized in accordance with the Rochdale principles, gives each member only one vote and returns all profits directly to consumers. Buying is done on specifications, and advertising ballyhoo and advertised brand names are omitted. Although the movement in this country is negligible compared to that in Europe, our business men are worried when they see the growing sales figures.

* * *

THE Food and Drug Administration reports the seizure of the following products as "economic frauds":

Product	*Shipper*	*Reason for Seizure*
Libby's apple butter	Libby, McNeill, and Libby	Short weight
Condensed buttermilk Near solid buttermilk	Center Milk Products Company	Adulterated with a foreign fat (probably cocoanut oil)
"Daisy" whole-milk white cheese	Sunrise Dairy Products Company	Low fat content
Honey malt, chocolate flavor	Silver Label Products Company	Short weight and of composition not warranting name
Pure honey Wilco honey	L. E. Rogers	For short weight
Currant jelly; strawberry, cherry, loganberry, blackberry, pineapple, raspberry preserves	National Kream Company	Short weight, deficient in fruit, added pectin
"Nature's Own" strawberry preserves "Milrey" raspberry preserves	Fresh Grown Preserve Corporation	Short weight, deficient in fruit, added pectin
Lemonia E-Z Squeeze	Dover Importing Corporation	Citric acid labeled as lemon concentrate
Peas: "Pride of the Farm" Eastern Shore brand; Esco brand	Eastern Shore Canning Company	Substandard
"Eyre Hall"	G. L. Webster Company	Substandard
"Green Pac"; "Vestibule"	Greencastle Packing Company	Substandard
"Ruth Brand"	Gibbs and Company	Soaked dried peas improperly labeled
Vanilla Extract "Try-Me"	Davis Manufacturing Company	Short volume

* * *

A FRENCH name and a Paris address add immeasurably to the sales appeal of a perfume. Prince Matchabelli Perfumery, manufacturers of some of the highest-priced and most extensively advertised perfumes on the market today, and Leading Perfumers and Chemists, makers of Fleur de Matin-Cartel, therefore labeled their products, manufactured in New York, in such a manner that they appeared to be imports. The Federal Trade Commission has now ordered both companies to discontinue these misrepresentations.

SAFEGUARD PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL

Dangerous pressure is exerted on productive capital by growing tax burdens and recurrently inflating ground rents. Capital now stalled in banks would move into productive industry and employ more labor if taxation were transferred from agriculture, manufacture, trade, and real estate improvements and placed on ground values, improved and vacant.

Other programs aim to attack, regiment, or abolish capitalism on the illogical assumption that private ownership of "the tools and machinery of production" is oppressive to labor.

This book, by LOUIS WALLIS, is non-Georgean and non-utopian. It views Marxism as impracticable, and regards the New Deal as only a stop-gap.

Minneapolis Tribune: "A sensible suggestion at a time when big business and small business as well is crying for relief from heavy taxation. . . . Seems to fit the picture of what industry needs today."

All bookstores, 75 cents

Published by DOUBLEDAY, DORAN, *Garden City, N.Y.*

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AMONG the expenses connected with death are cemetery plots, coffins, and gravestones. There is a natural reluctance to consider these things beforehand, and emotional distress at the time such purchases must be made permits unscrupulous undertakers to mulct the bereaved. This form of racketeering is comparatively well known. A newer and what appears to be a more profitable racket is the sale of cemetery lots as first-rate speculative investments. The cemetery salesmen are particularly active in Ohio, where they appear to be creating a little boom. Local better-business bureaus are actively campaigning against the cemetery racketeers.

Meanwhile the Federal Trade Commission has been proceeding against manufacturers of the new-style metal vaults, warranted to purchasers as water-proof, air-tight, and vermin-proof for periods ranging up to one hundred years. The findings in the case against the Maxwell Steel Vault Company of Oneida, New York, makers of the Maxwell Burial Vault and the Oneida Air Seal Vault, point out that many of each type of vault are not water-proof even at the time of interment and that the guaranties are false and misleading and serve merely as sales inducements.

The FTC will soon commence proceedings against seven other manufacturers of vaults against whom complaints of similar practices have been filed. These companies are the Galion Metallic Vault Company, the National Grave Vault Company, the Perfection Burial Vault Company, the Springfield Metallic Casket Company, the Clark Grave Vault Company, and Sissell Brothers. In October the Wyandot Company entered into a stipulation with the FTC agreeing to discontinue claims that its vaults will endure "for countless years," held to be an exaggerated and untrue statement. The FTC has also issued a complaint against Granite Arts of Omaha, Nebraska, alleging that the company's tombstones, advertised as granite, are in fact manufactured of cement; that these monuments are not permanent; and that they have not, as was advertised, the official approval of practically every cemetery in the United States.

RUTH BRINDZE

[*Miss Brindze's page appears every other week in* The Nation. *Miss Brindze cannot answer questions regarding the merits of individual products.*]

Contributors to This Issue

PAUL W. WARD is a Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*.

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ANTHONY LUCHEK, a graduate student in the Economics Department of the University of Michigan, has spent the past two years in close contact with automobile labor organizations, attending their meetings, studying their records, and interviewing individual workers.

RUTH BRINDZE is chairman of the Westchester County Consumers' Council and author of "How to Spend Money."

LOUIS KRONENBERGER, editor of "An Anthology of Light Verse," is preparing a study of life and manners in the eighteenth century.

R. P. BLACKMUR has recently published a collection of critical essays entitled "The Double Agent."

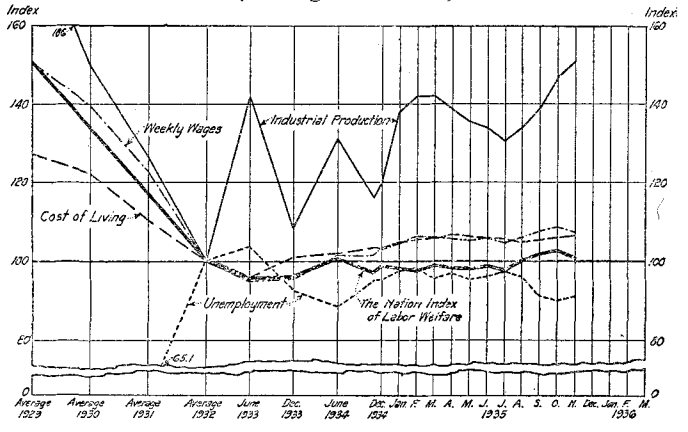
HAROLD E. STEARNS is the author of "The Street I Know."

MARY MCCARTHY frequently reviews fiction for *The Nation*.

The Labor Index

DESPITE an uninterrupted rise in business activity in November, *The Nation* Index of Labor Welfare shows working-class living standards to have declined practically to the August level. The average weekly wage in manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries combined dropped from $22.13 in October to $21.88 in November, while the cost of living—as computed by the National Industrial Conference Board—rose ½ of 1 per cent for the fourth consecutive month. Unemployment increased slightly, and the number dependent on relief or WPA emergency jobs showed little change.

THE CHART OF LABOR WELFARE
(Average 1932=100)



The task of measuring real wages is rendered extremely difficult by the growing discrepancy between the cost-of-living figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and those prepared by the National Industrial Conference Board. The Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the increase in living costs in thirty-two of the principal cities of the United States from July 15 to October 15 as 0.4 per cent, and the rise from November 15, 1934, to October 15, 1935, as 2.2 per cent. In contrast, the NICB lists the advance between July and October at 1.6 per cent, and that from November, 1934, to November, 1935, at 4.3 per cent. On the basis of the government figures—which have been used hitherto in constructing the Labor Index—real wages for November would appear to be 0.7 per cent above the depression level of 1932. But if the NICB estimates are accepted, real wages are 1 per cent lower than they were during the depth of the depression in 1932. Since the change is at any rate an extremely small one, it is safe to say that living standards of employed workers today are no higher than in 1932 and are 18 per cent below the level of 1929. Taking into account the condition of the 11,500,000 persons who are without jobs, we still find very little change from 1932. *The Nation* Index of Labor Welfare for November stands at 100.4 (on the basis of the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics)—a decline of approximately 50 per cent since 1929.

Following are the tentative figures for November, compared with the revised figures for October and for November of a year ago:

(AVERAGE 1932 = 100)

	Nov. 1935	*Oct. 1935*	*Nov. 1934*
Industrial Production	151*	147	120
Average Weekly Wages	107.1*	108.3†	101.4
Cost of Living	106.4*	105.9†	103.7
Real Wages	100.7*	102.4†	97.7
Unemployment	91*	90	94
Index of Labor Welfare	100.4*	102.6†	97

* Preliminary. † Revised.

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Books, Drama, Films

Ernest Cudlipp

Men and Brethren. By James Gould Cozzens. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

THERE are so many dismally cut-and-dried ways of writing about the clergy—their sincerity, for example, is as threadbare an object of satire as their hypocrisy—that Mr. Cozzens deserves almost special praise for creating a clergyman as real as Ernest Cudlipp. He has licked the problem of forgetting about the minister in thinking of the man, and vice versa, not merely by always seeing Cudlipp as both, but by making it hard to determine where the one leaves off and the other begins. The result is a brilliantly integrated and authentic characterization. Ernest has been sacrificed to no satiric preconceptions; Mr. Cozzens does not first size him up, and then write about him. He just lets him do the talking; gives him, as a good novelist should, rope and to spare. In consequence he never loses his hold over the man for a minute.

For my tastes, Ernest is the whole book. There are some interesting enough other people, but in the end—except as they give Ernest his opportunities—they do not count. And Ernest holds me, not because he is a thrilling or spectacular figure, or because anything of much consequence happens to him, but because he is real. It is enough to watch him for perhaps twenty-four hours as he follows a routine of parish duties in New York City; to see him involved in the lives of people who may mean something to him but cannot mean much. We watch an Episcopalian celibate getting on for forty, living pretty well and running into debt, with an attractive personality, an authoritative manner, and a quick wit rather too often substituted for a capacity to think.

Dealing with friends, parishioners, fellow-clergymen, servants, Ernest handles his job briskly and professionally. In one sense, as every administrator of people's lives must be, he is a worldling. He is undeceived and unsentimental, but he comes down hard—though often banteringly—where the church is concerned. It is something of an achievement on Mr. Cozzens's part that without making Ernest priggish or hypocritical or sanctimonious he makes him seem adjusted to his role, as though he had a vocation for it. Not, to be sure, a vocation in the strict spiritual sense, but rather because there is at bottom something aloof and impersonal in Ernest which keeps him unentangled and hence free to minister; and because, though he may lack the inner loftiness proper to the church, he has the perfect temperament for a churchman. It is not so much that he can resist temptation as that he is not tempted. It is again not so much that he has anything of God in him as that he can outstare the devil.

The result is a seasoned person, at once highly modern and not modern at all, neither admirable nor despicable, who half the time faces things and half the time evades them. We do not see him in the pulpit or at the altar; we see him directly in contact with the world he has half-forsworn. It is a commentary on the position of the church in contemporary life that people only come to Ernest when they need him sorely. They are, in one sense or another, near the end of their rope; and he offers to such people not high-sounding words but succinct and practical help. In other words, he has the ability to do a good job, but lacks the deep feeling to add any special, more personal touch.

As you may judge from the way I have been writing, one does not want to write a review of "Men and Brethren"; one wants to start a conversation about Ernest. He is a teasing mixture who might have just left the room and whom, with no two of our opinions quite alike, we want to discuss. There are, I suppose, two kinds of real people in books. The one kind is real as people never are in life—that is, we wholly understand them, see into every dark corner of their minds, grasp all their motives perfectly. Mr. Cozzens's Ernest Cudlipp is not of this, which may be the greater, kind. He *is* like somebody we know in life, a contradictory and rather insoluble figure, whom sometimes we see through only too well, and sometimes can only guess at. Perhaps he appeals to nothing deeper in us than our curiosity about human nature; at least we realize that he is not an important person, and a life so little moving and tragic as his cannot be the vehicle for a really important book. But by creating an indestructible human being Mr. Cozzens has proved himself not only a livelier but a better writer than those whose talents are forever out of breath trying to keep up with their pretensions.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

In Second Place

Prophets and Poets. By André Maurois. Translated by Hamish Miles. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE lectures on Kipling, Wells, Shaw, Chesterton, Conrad, Strachey, Lawrence, Huxley, and Katherine Mansfield which compose this book are light and easy, pretentious and irritating, inconsistent and revealing. Addressed to a French and popular audience they say for the most part all the easy enthusiastic things that make a substitute for actual reading, and they take for granted nothing but the hard things that come only with slow knowledge and intimate attention. They say, for example, that Kipling celebrates empire and action, that Wells is encyclopedic, that Shaw detests sentimentality, that Chesterton submits reason to miraculous faith and a sense of the quotidian, that Conrad found loyalty the great human virtue, that Strachey was a wilful artist in history, that Lawrence had a puritan bias in his sensuality, that Huxley "understands, refashions, and distrusts every system," and that "the virtue of Katherine Mansfield's stories lies not merely in their truthfulness but in their poetry." Thus these lectures serve the necessary social function which substitutes the quantitative handle for the qualitative experience; and in that capacity one need no more complain of them than of the daily paper.

But they assume also to serve a critical and a moral function, to assist in the serious evaluation of literature and the life which it reflects, which is altogether another matter and one where substitutes are not in order. Let us take as one example the first measured judgment—that on Kipling—to which M. Maurois brings himself. After stating and illustrating by quotation the conditioning limits of Kipling's talent and subject matter, the dogmatic narrowness of his ideology, and the radical incompleteness of his sensibility, he puts Kipling forward as a great moral influence, the evangel of the heroic life of action. "The things which he has described and sung are the eternal virtues which give man the faculty of leadership and give a race the power of survival." Earlier in his lectures M. Maurois anticipates his conclusion with a general feeling: "I have never ceased to regard Kipling as the greatest writer of our time, and one of the greatest of any time."

It is not that M. Maurois's facts are wrong, but that, as they are stated, they do not jibe with any notion of literary greatness acceptable to a rational mind. The facts show—those of M. Maurois and others—that Kipling is a special case of fanatic strength, not moral breadth or depth, and that the virtue of his work lies in the vividness with which his materials are recorded, the richness of his anecdote, both good from any

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point of view, and not in the barbarous formulas of the heroic life to which the *weakness* of his mind before life compelled him to fit that material. These formulas prevent Kipling from being a great representative writer and prevent his people from achieving great character, because their basis is in moral illusion which we, and even M. Maurois, can point out; whereas great writing of this and most orders has as an end a moral myth of which we can gradually and rationally absorb the meaning. That moral illusion and especially the moral illusion of heroism may seem the only endurable face of reality and become a principle to which every value and charity of the understanding must be sacrificed, Kipling shows us dramatically; it is the drama, from a point of view which we supply ourselves, which his people suffer under the application of his formulas that makes his work only short of tragic. M. Maurois, by accepting the illusions literally and at their face value, exactly as the fascists accept their illusions, belittles what he intends to glorify—the work itself.

So much for the plane of morals and prophecy. On the plane of simple reading, which ought to be as important for the literary critic, M. Maurois errs no less. In the lecture on Lawrence there is quoted a part of the poem called "She Said as Well to Me." It is quoted with verbal accuracy but in the form of prose, which is mechanically inexcusable. Worse, M. Maurois imputes to Lawrence the marvel of "having discovered, through her, his own body," whereas the whole poem declares the untouchable proud isolation of the spirit in any animal.

It was once held the chief sin of an understanding spirit to put God in second place, since in any consideration God represented ultimate reality and truth. In these lectures M. Maurois puts literature in second place, and either his translator or his printer occasionally helps. On page 215 we learn that Lytton Strachey not only had a praiseworthy erudition but was "skilled in sniffling out details." R. P. BLACKMUR

"Suffer Little Children"

A Footnote to Folly. Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

THIS book is a highly extrovert, objective series of pictures of the labor and the exploitation of people who work in mills and mines, on ships and trains, in the dreary factories of the steel and cotton and coal and oil "towns." Mrs. Vorse is a reporter of misery—and above all of misery when it hits women and children and those who are helpless because they lack any money except their wages, and any chance of moving or changing their essential condition in life. "This book is not a biography. It is a picture of the world as I saw it during an important moment of history. A record of what happened to the little people and their children in war time and in peace; how they fought for their children, how they lived, and how war tore their lives apart."

When she writes on page 28 of a 407-page book, "Marriage took me into an older and more serious world," there is no pretense about this, any more than on page 30, where in three lines she states how she and her husband came down to Venice and took an apartment on the corner of the San Vio and the Zaterre. And the very next sentence is, "Through our gondolier we became acquainted with the secretary of the Sanola Guild."

Now we have reached page 56, Section IV. Section III ended with, "There's an entry in my journal which says, under date of January 17, that Joe was born. He was a fine baby with blue eyes and red hair just as I had always known he would be. The next entry is twelve days later: the notice of the meeting at Cooper Union." Hardly what you might expect until you begin to realize the kind of person Mary Vorse was—and is. The main caption of Section IV reads, The Unemployed—1914. And then follow these subheads, Labor Defense—Church Raids—Headquarters at Home—Spaghetti on the Stove [mostly for other people I want to interject]—Arrest of Frank Tannenbaum—Case History—Police and the Unemployed — O'Brien's Saloon — Cracked Heads — Ludlow Massacre. Let us jump to Section IX, called Mesaba Range. Seventeen pages of almost "straight" reporting, then two and a half pages of purely personal life, but only two and a half pages! Follow Wartime, Postwar England, France and Germany, Italy, then The Second International. You begin to despair. When *will* this woman begin to tell us about herself? Yet you read the whole book through, fascinated, if you have in you any of the bowels of compassion. And gradually you begin to realize that in describing these things, these people, these episodes, these tragedies, these humors Mary Vorse is talking about herself all the time, even if, perhaps, without knowing it. For she is really giving us her autobiography: these things are part of her, of her blood and nerves and heart.

Then, if you piece these impressions together, you are—at least, I am, as a man—suddenly abashed by realizing that the key to this character, this fighter for decency and the good life for all, is something quite simple—love of children. Not the kind that employs the adjective "cute," but real love, the fighting, triumphant, perceptive kind. It has been a long time since I have read descriptions of children that moved me as did some in this book of Mary Vorse's. Take, for example, this short paragraph in the section called The Amalgamated Lockout:

> As I looked at them they made me feel that everything is possible for humanity. Then I remembered that there was a lockout of the children's fathers. That the manufacturers were to reduce wages a third. That there was on foot a conspiracy to break the workers' organizations throughout the country so that children would grow up in industrial slavery. . . . Suddenly the full meaning of such an organization as the Amalgamated came to me. It came out flashing like a light. In fighting the rapacity of the manufacturers they were fighting for the children. These were just a few of them. There were hundreds and thousands of others just as lovely, just as beautiful. . . . Each time a child is born the race dips back into the fresh beauty of creation.

And, for my part, I think it deeply significant that the final two sentences of this book, which is really a document for all liberal Americans, should be: "There is another element on the side of an orderly society. It is the people who grow the food, and who run the machines—they and their children."

For if the anecdotal, personal, arm-chair, sometimes amusing sort of autobiographical chronicle is not here (I ought to know this kind, because I have just written one myself, and I believe it is interesting and moving, on occasion perhaps a bit more), there is a real narrative flow of a different kind—something like what I felt in John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World." Facts are not just piled on facts; events do not merely follow one another in sequence. There is a passion and a drive, an order of a different—and in some ways of a deeper—kind. It is the order, the unity, of love.

Yet there are plenty of incidents, plenty of action, abundant pictures of people in the labor, syndicalist, "wobbly," even fashionable and rich worlds. For example, the account of the emotion awakened by, the events leading up to, and the protests at the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti is, as we see it now with passion spent, a bit of singularly fine reporting.

It is inevitable that a "Footnote to Folly," being in essence one of the great pleas, packed with tenderness and a quiet bitterness like sugar and vinegar, for decency toward the weak and justice for the strong, should also turn out to be one of the most powerful documents against war of our time, a kind

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By JAMES GOULD COZZENS

author of
"The Last Adam"

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"A novel that again illustrates Mr. Cozzens' superb power of characterization. In the clergyman, the author has a centerpiece who will not soon be forgotten. Few persons writing today have such a gift for exquisite characterization."—*Boston Herald.*

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With THE LAST ADAM, James Gould Cozzens was recognized as a distinguished American novelist. That was a grand and lusty novel about a physician who was, first of all, a human being. In MEN AND BRETHREN, Mr. Cozzens portrays a modern, young, and successful clergyman who is a really likeable, intelligent, hard-working person. Shown in his study rather than in the pulpit, he is involved in the lives of a score of people, forced to a conflict between his beliefs and his own experience of men and the world. He is another superbly drawn character in a rich and masterly novel.

By the author of "The Hell Hole of Creation"

Desolate Marches

by L. M. Nesbitt

An engineer's story of how he surveyed a large area of the Orinoco basin in Venezuela, this is a tale of arduous exploration in a land once civilized and inhabited, but now a wilderness, sparsely populated by primitive natives and a few fugitives from the island penal colonies. One of those rare tales of travel conspicuous for its brilliant color and strong personal flavor, DESOLATE MARCHES has been called by David Garnett—"It is a beautiful and noble book. Nesbitt might, if he had lived, have taken a place beside W. H. Hudson."

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The Floating Republic

by G. E. Manwaring and Bonamy Dobrée

Heroic and disastrous tales of the sea have always provided fascinating reading, and this is no exception. A real addition to nautical libraries is afforded by the brilliant collaboration of two historians who, in unearthing the mysterious details of two great mutinies in the British Navy in 1797, have told an exciting tale of the extraordinary revolution in which "an attempt was made to give the ships in mutiny the name of The Floating Republic."

Illustrated, $3.00

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of children's "All Quiet on the Western Front"; for while men were dying sometimes spectacularly and sometimes ignominiously and wretchedly on the battle lines, little children were dying quietly, unlyrically, but inexorably behind those lines. I haven't yet seen anywhere in France or in Germany or in my own country a monument to these little children who died of semi-starvation and rickets and mournfulness while their fathers were slaughtering each other for the glory (and loot) of their respective governments. Is there anywhere in the world a monument to the Unknown Child? It is here, a bit of sculpture in prose done by Mary Vorse, and underneath it are chiseled the words "A Footnote to Folly."

HAROLD E. STEARNS

Saint Francesca of the Pacific Northwest

Marching! Marching! By Clara Weatherwax. The John Day Company. $1.90.

"MARCHING! MARCHING!" is the winner of the *New Masses* prize contest for a novel on an American proletarian theme. It is also the January selection of the Book Union. It should, in all fairness, further be awarded a pale green orchid as the Most Neurotic Novel of 1935. The *New Masses* and the Book Union have made a most peculiar choice. While Dos Passos, Conroy, Cantwell, and others have been taking man-size vigorous strides toward the creation of a proletarian hero and a proletarian epic, the revolutionary confreres of these very writers have decorated Clara Weatherwax for a pinched, unhealthy, distorted, and incidentally dull picture of American proletarian life.

As a novelist Miss Weatherwax reminds one of those tortured medieval ascetics who loved beggars not so much for saintliness as sores. In "Marching! Marching!" Miss Weatherwax licks with a good deal of relish all the excrescences of the working class. A number of left-wing writers, recognizing melodrama as an ideal propaganda form, have represented the bosses as repulsive satyrs and the workers as handsome young gods. Miss Weatherwax's bosses are not too appetizing, but her worker heroes and heroines—longshoremen, loggers, and mill workers of the Pacific Northwest—are, as she tells her readers again and again, thoroughly distasteful physical specimens. The Filipino working-class leader, about whom much of the confused story revolves, is described by a prostitute: "I remember the first time he came. With his face and all. Nobody wanted to take him on, he was such a funny looker. Those warts, and you couldn't hardly tell what he was, Japanese or Eyetalian or Filipino or maybe even a Mex." Miss Weatherwax herself portrays him: "Mario built thick and short like a barrel, broad, solid with power, his hands fisted and smashing. Mario's numerous warts were blurred little mounds, the noseholes large and black in the blunt nose." And in another place: "Mario stood looking at nothing much, the sweat still trickling down among the warts on his face like a small sea finding the way among the barnacles." A love passage between two heroic workers is summed up thus: "He . . . could hear the trembling thump thump in her, smell the Mary-smell with salty sweat in it, feel her warmth flowing to him." Here is another moment of ecstasy between the pair: "He dropped his face suddenly to the V of her dress, nuzzling, breathing deeply the warm smell coming out: womanflesh and the soursweet smell of her armpits." There is hardly one of the working-class characters who is not either maimed or deformed. The brother of one female worker is a drooling, sexually uncontrollable idiot, and this is her father, a sympathetic character: "She could see the wen on the side of his nose, like a wad of gum stuck blackened there. His unfocused eyes came to short life. . . . He took his stinking dead pipe from his mouth and peered up at her through his glasses, his movements stirring stale smells. Cheap tobacco, drink, acrid layers of man-sweat."

The mental activities of Miss Weatherwax's people, displayed now and then haphazardly in stream-of-consciousness style, are not much more commendable than their physiques. On political subjects these workers are rational, if unreal and stilted; in all other departments of life they are subhuman. This masochistic, invertedly sentimental picture of working-class life might be tolerable aesthetically, though factually false, if the novel were all of a piece. Unfortunately, it is not. Heavy with detail, with precise, uninspired observation, it occasionally breaks jerkily into melodramatic action; and the human grotesques which Miss Weatherwax has so long and so lovingly molded are incapable of filling the heroic-melodramatic roles which she assigns to them. It is to be hoped that William Randolph Hearst will not chance upon "Marching! Marching!"; slightly cut and serialized, it would make excellent anti-labor propaganda for his chain of newspapers.

MARY MCCARTHY

Shorter Notices

Correspondence of Thomas Gray. Edited by the late Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley. Oxford University Press. Three Volumes. $21.

In an age of great letter-writers Thomas Gray ranked very high. Not only was he in his own way as brilliant a correspondent as Horace Walpole; he was himself one of Walpole's best correspondents, and the letters between these two erudite and exquisite bachelors have long been a glory of English literature. In addition he wrote faithfully to such friends as Mason, West, and Wharton; leaving behind him altogether one of the most charming and admirable records ever left on paper by any individual. But his editors, from Mason to Gosse, have not been careful with the record; they have copied carelessly, transposed documents, and supplied in many cases the wrong dates. Tovey's edition made up for much of this, yet it has remained for the present editors to do what appears a perfect and definitive job. Few books have been more scrupulously prepared for any press—even the Oxford Press, which here continues its great series of English "Letters." It is a work for scholars primarily—or rather, considering its price, for university libraries. To anyone, however, its notes and appendices will furnish all of the information that is relevant to the text; and the text will never need going over again.

Tom. By E. E. Cummings. Arrow Editions. $3.

This scenario for a ballet version of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is written in Mr. Cummings's poetic prose, which is especially well adapted to suggesting the involutions of the dance. His directions to the choreographer are complicated but explicit: "outspurtinrushing-twittering-seizingly hands cringe," and "accompanied by rhythmic shuddering swirlings of upwhirling wildly together blacks, Haley embroiders the frontstage with crouchful gloatings, with darting threats, with bloated struttings, all focusing on Shelby's cigar." As reading matter "Tom" amazes and excites by its display of linguistic virtuosity; it also leaves the impression that Mr. Cummings has imagined well in the medium for which it is intended, and that an adequate performance of it would be tremendously effective. If the directors of the American Ballet have not already discovered the piece, it is hereby recommended to them.

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Drama

The Matron Queen

IMPROBABLE as it would have seemed only a few years ago, Queen Victoria in just now in the process of becoming our favorite historical character. Unless I am seriously mistaken, the audience which gathered at "Victoria Regina" (Broadhurst Theater) not only liked her enormously but came prepared to do so, and I should be willing to wager that she is, at the present moment, a far more promising subject for a popular play than even the spacious Elizabeth would be. Laurence Housman, author of the present piece, treats her much more sympathetically than Strachey did, and the fact is no accident. For a decade the poor lady was so satirized and reviled, so allegorized and so misused as the scapegoat for our sins, that the inevitable reaction has set in. No other historical character was quite so much a household word, and familiarity helped to breed affection. Once the ghost of Victorianism was laid, once we ceased to fear that we might ourselves be suspected of that deadly sin, our interest took on a kindlier cast. The whatnots came down from the attic, and it was fashionable to have them in the drawing-room—provided, of course, it was made perfectly clear that they were *re*vivals, not *sur*vivals. And toward Victorian intangibles the permissible attitude is much the same. They are quaint, of course, and any admiration for them is necessarily tinged with condescension. But if one's own modernity and emancipation are beyond dispute, then one may find them rather more than merely ridiculous. The Victorian drawing-room was unquestionably stuffy. So was the Victorian moral atmosphere. But somehow or other certain of the gestures the Victorians managed to make were paradoxically spacious. It ought not to have been possible to rise majestically from a chair backed by an antimacassar and to strike a heroic attitude in front of a case full of stuffed birds. But somehow it was, and it is difficult not to have a certain admiration for the fact.

All this and more is somehow suggested in the long closet drama which Mr. Housman wrote, and certain scenes from which Gilbert Miller has staged beautifully, with Helen Hayes as the Queen. The acting version begins when Lord Conyngham and the Archbishop arrive in the early morning to rouse Victoria from her bed and to announce her accession. It ends with the Jubilee and thus, incidentally, affords Miss Hayes a remarkable opportunity to transform herself gradually from the slender, immature girl into the plump little widow who could make even puffing seem majestic. In between there is only a minimum of politics and a great deal of Albert, so that the emphasis is upon personality and upon the essential paradox of a woman who managed so curiously to combine ignorance and prejudice in certain fields, not only with imperiousness and dignity, but also with shrewdness and charm.

Mr. Housman writes so simply as to conceal his art. He is far less brilliant than Strachey, and his whole method is keyed much lower. In part, of course, this is because he takes for granted the paradox which Strachey was laboring to demonstrate. But he is, nevertheless, extremely effective, and so are all the acting and the staging. Perhaps there is a touch of some of Miss Hayes's former parts in the curious combination of girlish archness with wilfulness and intransigence, but it is not unconvincing as an interpretation of Victoria and it is difficult to think of a more suitable person for the part. Vincent Price, a newcomer, is also admirable as Albert, managing somehow to suggest very successfully his almost waxlike charm as well as that calm lack of personality which so well suited the near non-existence of his official position. And if George Zucco seems im-

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Additional Speakers.
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Admission—25c.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH says

Boy Meets Girl. Cort Theater. Rough and ready satire on Hollywood, but probably the funniest thing of its kind since "Once in a Lifetime."

Dead End. Belasco Theater. A play about gangsters in the making on an East River waterfront. Superbly acted by a group of boys. More a good show than a great drama, but a very good show indeed.

First Lady. Music Box. Comedy hit about a feminine feud in Washington society. Jane Cowl and Lily Cahill puncture one another with sharp implements in the forging of which George Kaufman had a hand.

Jumbo. Hippodrome. Paul Whiteman, Jimmy Durante, and a remarkable clown named A. Robbins surrounded by acrobats and animals. Literally better than a circus.

Let Freedom Ring. Civic Repertory Theater. A second chance for this drama of a strike in a Southern mill. I found it hard going, but it has been highly praised.

Libel. Henry Miller Theater. Exciting English court-room play. Surprisingly probable for this sort of thing and superbly acted.

Paradise Lost. Longacre Theater. Clifford Odets' complicated picture of a family composed exclusively of pathological futilitarians. He calls it a picture of the middle class but it strikes me as somewhat less than typical.

Porgy and Bess. Alvin Theater. The well-known play turned into an opera by George Gershwin. One of the big hits of the year but to me less effective than anything so elaborate ought to be.

Pride and Prejudice. Plymouth Theater. Amazingly successful adaption, brilliantly staged and acted. It gave me more pleasure than any other play of the season.

The Taming of the Shrew. Guild Theater. The play is gentle Shakespeare's most ungentle farce, and the players are Lunt and Fontanne. The result is exhilarating.

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probable as Lord Beaconsfield, it must be remembered that Lord Beaconsfield seemed somewhat improbable as himself, and one is only left wondering whether or not it is an actor's business to see to it that fiction should appear less strange than truth. The costumes and sets fit the mood of the piece precisely; they are, that is to say, very Victorian and yet somehow charming.

Perhaps it is also worth while to remark that Victoria was not only paradoxical herself but the cause of paradox in others. Everyone knows the common report that, despite all his popularity and all his patriotism, Kipling was never given the laureateship because his reference to the Widow of Windsor unfortunately missed the precise tone of mingled intimacy and awe which it was intended to achieve. Now the censor is compelled to refuse a license for Mr. Housman's on the whole very respectful play about twenty years after Strachey's devastating satire was a permissible best-seller. That is not merely locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen. It is more like shutting it in the face of someone trying to put the missing steed back.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Trudi Schoop

In keeping with his indefatigable interest in odd bits of art from overseas, Mr. Hurok recently introduced Trudi Schoop and her comic ballet to New York audiences. Miss Schoop herself is a fresh and charming young person, but her pantomimic ballets are slight in content and form. At best the episodes she pictures have a pleasing naivete; the gestures are timed to the tinkling of a music box. At worst the movements of her troupe are full of clichés in comic pantomime, acted, not danced, to piano tunes reminiscent of the old moving-picture-house accompaniments. In the serio-comic series of Want-Ads, the stories skid away from humor into what should be pathos, but isn't. In the second part of the program, Fridolin on the Road, Miss Schoop plays Fridolin, the young peasant meeting the bewilderments of leaving home, and facing love, marriage, and infidelity; and the mood of these episodes is more consistently frivolous. I should think that Miss Schoop might bear microscopic examination by the magnates of Hollywood and musical-comedy Broadway.

RUTH PICKERING

Films

Dickens Week

HOLIDAY week brought three Dickens pictures to New York, and the best of them, "Scrooge," was so proper to the season that its existence is difficult to imagine at any later time—say, in warm weather. I should like to see it run on, however, if only to demonstrate the advantages of a certain species of material. If films are to go on being made from fiction, and from Dickens in particular, then the moral of "Scrooge's" success needs pointing out. "Scrooge" was better than "The Old Curiosity Shop" and "A Tale of Two Cities" because it had a simpler story to tell—one, indeed, which could be told completely and out of which every ounce of value could be extracted. The only trouble with the otherwise interesting "David Copperfield" of last year was that it tried to cover too much ground; it could have stopped, for instance, at Betsy Trotwood's house after David's journey from London, or it could have confined itself to one of the later episodes—Peggotty, Uriah Heep, or Dora. If it had so limited itself it would have escaped the effect of haziness which here and there reminded us how desperately the director was working against time. Haste makes waste in Hollywood as elsewhere; material which cannot be handled well should not be handled at all. So with "A Tale of Two Cities," where the excellent acting of Ronald Colman as Sydney Carton lacked the relief of such a simple setting as that which helped to make Sir Seymour Hicks stand out as Scrooge. The same thing is true in different degree of "The Old Curiosity Shop," where the Quilp of Hay Petrie suffered from the fact that our attention was divided between it and the household of lawyer Brass. The director of the film, particularly since it is an English film, must have supposed that he could under no circumstances leave out Dick Swiveller and the Marchioness. Yet they could have been left out, as anything can, and if Mr. Bentley had felt himself responsible less to Dickens than to the rules of his own art he would have proceeded to suppress them, good as they are in themselves. In "Scrooge" there was nothing to suppress. There was much, indeed, to develop; and the development resulted in the most veritable winter night I have ever lived through in a movie, as well as in a fable perfectly rendered.

Alexander Dovjenko's "Frontier" (Cameo), to turn to something bigger, is not only powerful and beautiful in itself but an indication that propaganda in the Russian studios moves through its phases. The film, released at Moscow in celebration of the eighteenth anniversary of the October Revolution, has an emphasis which I assume it would not have had ten years ago. It shows the revolution triumphant, of course, but triumphant this time over persons and classes who are so far from contemptible as to claim a full half of the audience's sympathy. The scene is the Pacific coast, where a great military city, Aerograd, is to be built over the protests of certain kulaks and "old believers" who have fled to the neighboring wilderness for sanctuary. These diehards are represented as wrong, but they are represented even more clearly as a fanatical and pitiful minority doomed to be crushed by a majority at least one member of which, Stepan Glushak, shudders at the things he must do. One of the things he must do is shoot down his oldest friend, Vasil Khudiakov, in the magnificent forest where the two have hunted together. Khudiakov's last act before he falls—turning his broad face up the mountain and shouting to hear his voice come back once more from the trees—makes Stepan out to be something of a butcher, as does the speech of the Samurai before he too is shot down. The speech of this man will convince no Communist that the revolution was a crime, and it is not intended to do so, nor need it convince anybody; but it says to any human being that great movements are also ruthless movements, and that the cost in this case is something that bears thinking about. So when the minority is annihilated and the sky grows black with aeroplanes flying from every part of Russia toward Aerograd, there is a sense that might has prevailed no less than right, and that someone has been trampled in the process. The final scene of the thousand parachutes descending to earth carries just the suggestion, consequently, of a thousand bullies dropping from another planet. I may be imputing scruples to Dovjenko which he would be horrified to have. In any case, however, I can say that "Frontier" plainly takes its place among the great Russian films.

"Annie Oakley" makes agreeable capital out of a recent American figure who has already become something of a legend. Annie Oakley's shooting eye brought multitudes of people to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in its heyday. Here she is with a rural origin and a romance to keep her interesting, and very interesting she is as Barbara Stanwyck plays her. The Cinderella theme can't fail. "Ah, Wilderness" (Center) is primarily a costume piece as of 1906, the delicacy of Eugene O'Neill's play being present in part but only in part—by which I mean that it is wholly absent from Wallace Beery's Sid.

MARK VAN DOREN

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